

The non-participation of Greek student organizations in the European Students' Union

Reasons and Consequences

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the European Students' Union
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IV

Abstract

The issue of student participation in Higher Education (HE) governance has become an important topic for higher education policies around the world. ESU is considered as the European organization which brings together the students union from all over the Europe.

This research aims to investigate the reasons of non- participation of Greek student organizations in the European Students' Union (ESU). It aims to describe the current situation of participation on the national and European level, to present the efforts that have been done by various stakeholders to engage Greek student organizations with the idea of ESU and to analyze the challenges faced as well as the consequences.

The thesis was constructed as a case study, using both semi-structured interviews with experts and the analysis of documents including laws, national reports and declarations.

The result of this research is that Greek student organizations are political oriented and they are not willing to collaborate with each other due to their different ideologies. This is the cause for the absence of a Nation Union of Students in Greece, a fact that precludes participation in ESU. Moreover, the reaction of Greek student organizations to European initiatives also don't allow them to participate in ESU, as they fiercely oppose most forms of direct involvement in for example the Bologna Process.

Finally, the thesis suggests further research on the topic of student activism and on the topic of student participation in student organizations.

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Konstantina Tsopriadou

Abbreviations

Bologna Follow Up Group BFUG

Bologna Process BP

European Community EC

European Credit Transfer System ECTS

European Economic Area EEA

European Higher Education Area EHEA

European Students' Union ESU

European Union EU

European University Association EUA

European Association of Institutions in Higher Education EURASHE

European Qualifications Framework EQF

National Union of Students NUS

The Greek Student Activists ΠΑΣΠ-PASP

The Democratic New Trailblazing ΔΑΠ- DAP

The Student Movement Association ΠΚΣ-PKS

The Left-wing United Association ΕΕΑΚ-ΕΕΑΚ

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PART 1

1 Introduction

A lot has been written about student participation in the governing of educational institutions. Astin (1984) wrote about the developmental theory of Student Involvement in Higher Education, Altbach(1989,2014) developed the perspectives of student political activism and the role of students and Klemenčič has made important research about the role of students in Europe (2014, 2012, 2011). Student participation refers to many aspects of student involvement: participation of students in councils, student parliaments, their involvement in decision-making, their active participation in the classroom and other aspects that define the concept of student participation. In my thesis, I will focus on student participation in Higher Education (HE) governance and in HE policy making.

The importance of student participation in HE can be understood by various researches and by the roles that students have in the area of HE. Even though a lot has been written, the issue is still under research and many questions still need to be answered. Various studies have shown that indeed, there are benefits from students' involvement in the running of the university because students find it easier to accept decisions made by their representatives rather than feel like outsiders (Obondo, 2000). They are more likely to understand policies and to accept changes when their peers are part of the decision making process. Also students' involvement in higher education government facilitates their introduction to democratic ideals and practices (McGrath, 1970).

This study aims to answer questions regarding student participation in an EU level higher education stakeholder organization, specifically in the European Students' Union (ESU). The specific focus will be on a member country of the European Union (EU) with a long history in student participation on a national level but that experiences challenges in the participation on the European level: Greece.

While students in Greek universities seem to be active in various ways on the department and school level, they do not participate in ESU which is the European organization for students from all around Europe. In this thesis, I will try to find out and explain why this phenomenon exists and what its consequences are.

1.1 Structure

This thesis is divided into four parts. In the first part the background and the rationale of the research will be presented. In this part, I will also present the research questions and the goal of the thesis. Also, I will describe in brief the methodology that was used to address the research questions. A literature review related to student participation and to HE governance will be presented in the second part in order to create the conceptual framework. In the third part, the concept of student participation on the national and European level will be discussed together with the structure of the HE system in Greece and its HE governance. In the next chapter, the methodology used in this study will be outlined. Here, I will describe the research design and the argument for the selection of the case. Also I will discuss questions related to the reliability and validity, as well as ethical issues and the limitations of this study.

In the final part, the results will be presented based on the research questions. Furthermore, the findings will be discussed and in the conclusion, they will be summarized and ideas for further research will be presented.

1.2 Background and Rationale

The issue of student participation on the European level is highly complex and still under research. It's not surprising that there is no extensive literature regarding the issue of student involvement, student representation and student activism on the European level (Minksová and Pabian, 2011).

The rationale behind the topic of my thesis is found in the observation that even though Greek student organizations are active on an institutional level, Greek students lack representation on the European level. Greece is the only country in the European Union (EU) that does not participate in the only representative body of European students, the European Students' Union.

ESU is a European organization where National Unions of Students (NUSes) come together. Nowadays 47 national unions from 39 countries participate in ESU, which works actively on policies linked to the Bologna Process and strengthens student participation (Klemenčič, 2012a, b, c). ESU is the voice of students in Europe and is a key stakeholder in the European Higher Education Area.

One can argue that the absence of a Greek union in ESU may be due to a general feeling against European initiatives for which one can find many examples in the Greek media during the last years. A current example which can be mentioned includes the student protest, in 2013, against HE reforms. During the protests Greek students burned the flag of the European Union (My Campus, 2013). Student protests are a regular phenomenon in the Greek Higher Education Area. Greek students have protested against private universities, tuition fees, budget cuts and new reforms. It was not later than 2009 when Greek students protested against HE reforms on a national level but on the whole the unrest has gathered against the Bologna Process (BP) and its reforms. The sentiment against the BP and its reforms is coming not only from students, but also from academics and stakeholders.

«The implementation of the law, concerning the quality of studies and the connection between qualifications and employment, is considered a risk». (Makridis, Stavrinadis, 2007).

In 2004, the government adopted measures and interventions within the EU, but failed to convince and implement them. Academics and students are considered to have contributed decisively to the situation. The students protested against national issues regarding higher education and also against the ECTS. (Makridis, Stavrinadis, 2007).

The Bologna initiatives created contradictory opinions about their implementation. On the one hand, they were connected to the end of public education and the downgrade of national diplomas.

«The degree doesn't have value anymore. ECTSs value more than this» (Kontra, 2010).

«Restructuring higher education moves exactly to the same direction as the overall restructuring undertaken at the level of work within the requirements of the EU. It comes to destroy the notion of public and free university as we know it today» (PAS-EAAK, 2011).

On the other hand, there were voices that support reforms and EU organizations, as ESU:

«It's sad that Greece is the only country that doesn't participate in ESU» Mr. Kuriakakis (2011), the vice-President of Youth of the European People's Party.

As we can see from the above quotes published in Greek newspapers, blogs or official websites, there are diverse views in Greece regarding the role of Europe in HE. The views come from different sides and most of them are critical towards Europe. After protests against ECTS one can expect a critical distance against Bologna and a distance to organizations that are connected to it, as ESU.

This study focuses on the reasons why students studying at Greek Higher Education Institutions are not represented in ESU, what are the consequences of that and what efforts have been made by both sides, the Greek side and ESU, in order to change this situation. For this thesis, I will use concepts of students' participation as well as HE governance and student political activism to address student representation in Greece and its missing link to Europe.

1.3 Research Problem and Research Questions

In order to write a thesis in a specific time and space, it was necessary to limit myself. The perspective of this work will therefore lie with the student participation in ESU as the main formal organization on the European level and with the question why there is no Greek member organization.

Greece is the only country in the EU that does not participate in ESU. This seems to be strange if one considers that Greece is a member of the Bologna Process that actually promotes the participation of students in HE governance (Klemenčič, 2011a). Moreover, the fact that other Mediterranean countries participate in ESU, makes the case of Greece even more interesting especially if we consider the case of Cyprus that follows approximately the same HE structure like Greece and whose student organization is a member of ESU. One may think that the obvious reason that students do not participate in ESU is the absence of a National Union of Students in Greece. Indeed that is a fact that one cannot ignore but then one can see the example of other countries that had similar problems and managed to overcome it and now participate in ESU having created new forms of unions to be accepted to ESU. One example for this is Portugal which did this several years ago.

Through this research I am expecting to find out what the reasons are behind the absence of a NUS and what the consequences of Greek non-participation in ESU are. Has the Greek government or the Ministry of Education tried to inspire Greek student organizations with the

idea of ESU? If yes, what were the results? If not, why? Is the absence of a NUS in Greece the only reason? What is the role of the ESU in this?

My general research problem is therefore as follows:

Why do Greek national student organizations not participate in ESU?

Following this problem statement, this study strives to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the situation of student participation in the Greek HE area regarding both the national and the European level?
2. To what extent did the Greek government, national HE stakeholders and ESU try to engage students in Greece with the idea of ESU?
3. What challenges did stakeholders in the Greek HE sector and ESU face trying to engage Greek student organizations with the concept of participation in ESU and what are their proposals in order to successfully overcome them?

Answering the first question, I will try to describe the current situation regarding student participation on both the national and European level and see to what extent students do participate in both contexts. Students' participation on national level would make understand if the problem of non-participation is focused only on European level or on national level as well. By answering the second question, I will focus on the efforts from both sides (Greek side and ESU) to motivate Greek students with the idea of participation in the organization.

As the Greek educational system remains centralized, it still keeps its considerable aggregate characteristics: the Ministry of Education is the center of decision making as well as shaping education policy. Also, the majority of educational institutions in Greece (and Greek schools abroad) are supervised by the Ministry (OECD, 2011). Therefore, it is necessary to see its responsibilities. In this study, I will focus on responsibilities regarding the efforts to engage Greek students with the idea of ESU.

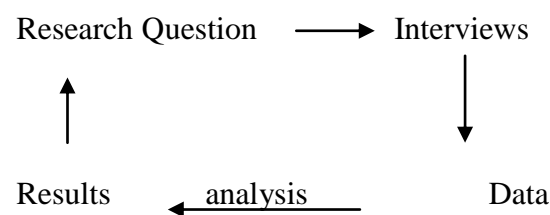
The third question will address practical issues concerning the efforts by both sides and I will try to see if and why Greek HE stakeholders tried or didn't try to involve Greek student organization in the European governance of HE and what were the results. This last question will lead me to the final part of this study. The experiences of the people that are going to share their views in this study and the conclusions made by the literature review will bring

about new ideas and possible solutions to the issue of non-participation by Greek student organizations on the European level.

1.4 Methodology

Even though the methodological considerations are presented in detail in a separate part of the thesis, an introduction to the methodological approach is provided here. This study is carried out in the context of a qualitative research strategy by stressing the relevance of the stated research problem rather than a clear hypothesis to be tested. This research focuses on a single case study design as the main framework for data collection. The case is the country of Greece or better, the Greek student organizations. Data collection was facilitated through qualitative interviewing of former members of the Ministry of Education in Greece, a former dean of a Greek university, a Greek student who participates in ESU as a member from a foreign institution and former members of ESU. Apart from these primary sources of data collection, some secondary data was collected through the process of analysis of policy documents and reports. The general model that I will follow to answer my research question can be described as following:

Figure 1: The thesis' model



PART 2

2 Conceptual Framework

In this chapter I will provide a literature review in order to create the conceptual framework needed to analyze the data. First, I will describe different models of HE governance emphasizing the role of students. This will help me to understand the model proposed by the EHEA countries and the model followed by Greece.

The role of students is considered necessary in the field of higher education. Through the description of the models and the role of students, I will try to understand what the real role of students is and how important it seems to be among the different models. Secondly, I will describe student participation in more detail. I will focus on student participation in HE governance and students' participation through elections, factions and of course I will analyze their role in decision making. Particular reference will be given to the concept of political activism.

Students around the world are organized in associations which serve different purposes. Usually, the purpose is to promote the needs of students through lobbying (Altbach, 1989). Sometimes these groups are affected by the political line followed by political parties and act according to this line. In Greece this is a common phenomenon and parties have created several smaller and larger groups at each university, which promote specific interests in accordance with the political line of the party concerned (Nanouris, 2009). Although small groups of students exist at Greek universities, there is a lack of a single student union on the national level. Below I will try to describe how a student group affects student participation in the governance of the university, which entails changes in the role of students and vice versa. Then, I will analyze the role of students at the European level and the model that has been adopted at a European and Greek level as the appropriate one for the governance of higher education.

2.1 Higher Education Governance

The concept of Higher Education Governance (HEG) is rather complex. Klemenčič (2012d) refers to HE governance as a fundamental value of tertiary education. Higher education governance is considered to be a multilevel system with many actors such as students, academics, governments etc. The governance of higher education can be observed on an institutional, regional, national and supranational level and the actors who are involved are different according to the level that one focuses on. A key characteristic of HEG is the leadership and decision making process that is different on each level (Bleiklie & Kogan, 2007). Referring to HEG, I aim to examine who is responsible and who is involved in these processes and the relationships among the actors. As there are various actors involved in university governance, one can understand that the main challenge is to find the balance among their differing needs (Bergan, 2003).

Different representative bodies are part of what we call Higher Education Governance: Rectors, Councils, Students' Unions etc. They differ in each country, but have almost the same goals: to develop the HEA (Bergan, 2003). In my thesis, I will use the term Higher Education Governance to describe the policy making and decision making processes taking place on the national and supranational level, focusing on students as the main actors.

According to the literature review, there is a variety of governance models. Some of them share similar characteristics but used different names. Universities and the Higher Education Area need to be governed as a system that needs to operate smoothly. As institutional organizations, they have rules, requirements and specific culture (Gornitzka, 1999). There are different models that describe structures of governance and each of them focuses on one or more actors. Steering models refer to the approaches governments use to control and influence specific public sectors, such as higher education (Gornitzka, Maasen, 2000).

According to Bleiklie and Kogan (2007), a university is seen both as a republic of scholars characterized by institutional autonomy and academic freedom and as a stakeholder organization where leaders satisfy the interests of various stakeholders. According to the same authors, there are four organizational ideas:

1. Professional regulation, based on academic freedom and research/teaching methods

2. Representative democracy, based on rights to staff and students regarding institutional decision process
3. Bureaucratic steering based on public funds and
4. Corporate management, by trying to render Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) efficient and accountable

Trying to find the role of students on the above models, one can argue that only the representative democracy includes students in the decision making process. A different author, J. Olsen (2007) looks at universities with two dichotomous approaches: the instrumental and institutional approach. The university as an instrument can be seen as an organizational instrument for achieving interests. Then, the issue is how the university can be organized and governed in order to achieve them (Olsen, 2007). This type of governance is a top down governance approach considering the university as an instrument for achieving national objectives. Academic freedom and autonomy are supported only if they serve the priorities and requests stated by the government. The perspective of the university as an institution gives to the university more power and the relationship between government and the university seems to be based on partnership principals. Institutional priorities are defined according to academic needs and interests (Olsen, 2007). Before that, Olsen developed a four university ideals describing the dynamics of the HE systems (Olsen, 1988):

1. The university as a meritocratic community of scholars: the university is based on a shared commitment to scholarship and learning, basic research and peer review. There is collegial organization with elected leaders. This type of university is similar to the Humboldtian University, in which the nature of knowledge determines the rest. The university has traditionally been run by academics who see the institutional administration as necessary but not desirable. Academics want to control their research, to define their work and to specify the role of each actor (Maassen & Cloete, 2002, Olsen, 1988).
2. The university as an instrument for national political agendas: in this type, the university is considered to be a tool for implementing the purposes and policies of democratically elected leaders. Research is seen as a source of wealth and welfare and funding depends on political support and on how effectively the institution achieves its purposes. Change is closely linked to political decisions.

3. The university as a representative democracy. The university is an interest group allowing representation of employees and students in governing bodies.
4. The university as a service enterprise embedded in competitive markets. Here, the market is the main system coordinator. Universities adapt their missions according to market's .The government is forced to provide more autonomy and flexibility to higher education institutions in order to be able to function in the new environment.

According to the above models, one can easily notice that representative democracy includes students whereas in the other models, students hardly play a role. However, one can argue that the last model seeing universities as a service enterprise includes a view of students as customers. Though, students are not seen as equal participants.

Based on Olsen's models, Gornitzka and Maasen (2000) suggested 4 models of state steering of HE for a project which analyzed changes in government and steering approaches in HE between 1980-1990 in 8 European countries:

1. The sovereign state model where HE is seen as an instrument in order the state to fulfill its goals. The role of other actors except the state is limited and students have only the role that the state allows them.
2. The institutional model where universities aim to protect the academic identity and the values of the organization based on the tradition and the history of the institution. The state and the university protect the HE system from the market and from various political interests.
3. The corporate pluralist model which does not see the state as the main actor in HE. Instead this model includes many actors such as student unions, interest groups, academics etc. with different roles in the development of HE. All actors have the right to participate in the HE policy making process.
4. The supermarket steering model where the state has limited power and the role of the universities is to provide research and services. The role of the state is to control market mechanisms and the university's need to survive through the market.

As it can be seen the state plays different roles in each of these models.

In this thesis, I will argue that the EHEA is based on the corporate-pluralist steering model as it promotes the participation of all actors in HE. The Bologna Process welcomes all stakeholder and actors of HE to participate in HE and after the Praha Communique also students are welcomed to participate (Bergan, 2003, Klemenčič, 2012b, d). On the other hand, national and institutional systems work differently and even the directions given by the Bologna Process are not always followed to the letter.

Even though there is political pressure from the supranational level to change the governance of HE, universities and national HE systems have been found to be slow in adopting under this pressure. This happens due to several reasons. First, change is often regarded as a primary challenge for universities (Clark, 1983). Second, based on the institutional literature, one can distinguish four types of institutional change (Thelen & Mahoney, 2010):

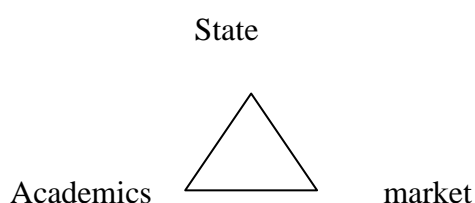
1. Displacement (new rules and removal of the old ones)
2. Layering (new rules on top of the old ones)
3. Drift (formal rules remain the same but the institutional environment changes)
4. Conversion (rules remain the same but the interpretation changes)

Whether change is likely to happen and in which way depends on several factors. One way for institutional change is the emergence of a new logic which tries to change the way of doing things (Jungblut & Vukasovic, 2013). But new logics may create conflicts between the state and the institution (Jungblut & Vukasovic, 2013). The Bologna Process led to a shift from focusing on a supermarket model of HE steering to a corporate-pluralist model especially in terms of student participation and social partners' participation (Elken et al., 2011). Moreover, the Bologna Process moved the unitary government models to a multi-level government system trying to include as many actors as possible (Jungblut & Vukasovic, 2013).

Musselin (2005) also sees two processes of change in the current years: the European Higher Education Area and the European Research Area. These two processes turned HE into an actor in the policy arena and made European institutions more open to stakeholders and to new rules which apply differently to national levels (Musselin, 2005). In order to understand the changes and the movement from one model to another it is important to take into account

the environmental transformations and the interaction between actors and their environment (Gornitzka, 1999).

Contrary, Clark's model (1983) regarding the coordination of HE focuses on three actors who are dominant in HE: academics, the market and the state. Every country puts itself in a different place in the triangle giving more or less power to each actor:



While we can consider the role of students in the previous models, Clark's model does not include students as actors in the HE triangle.

In conclusion, we can say that changes happen in order to move from one model to another, they do not happen smoothly. Since the characteristics of each university make it difficult to change itself, also the university system is considered a system that changes really slowly (Clark, 1983). My starting point for this thesis is that the Bologna Process promotes a corporate-pluralist steering model, giving a role to students as well as incentivizing countries to reform their national models accordingly. However, due to the characteristics of higher education the promotion of this new steering model does not automatically lead to changes in the national higher education governance; thus creating the potential for differences between the supranational and national level and thus tensions between the two.

2.2 Student Participation

Student participation is a broad concept with different clarifications. When we are talking about student participation, we may refer to student participation in classroom activities, in politics, in decision making processes, in community activities and many other ways of participation. In the current research work, I will focus on students' participation in HE governance and specifically in the decision making process on the national and European level.

Already in the first European University founded in Bologna in the 12th century, students had had a fundamental role (Ryegg, 1992). It was then when law students grouped themselves into

“nations” and created a basic organizational form of the medieval European University (Ryegg, 1992). Since then, student participation is seen as a key aspect of student life and of higher education in general (Bergan, 2003). The Bologna Process has seen students as stakeholders after the Prague Conference in 2001. In Prague, it was confirmed that students should participate and influence the content of the universities and other higher education institutions (Bergan, 2003). However, even if there are a number of countries that work to increase student participation in institutional governance, student participation cannot be taken for granted. According to ESU, the situation of student participation in a majority of EHEA countries (64%) is not considered to have changed to the better (European Students Union, 2009). Moreover, the changes seem to happen at the surface level, while students complain about not being considered as equal stakeholders in terms of governance (European Students Union, 2009). From the above, we understand that student participation is becoming more and more important for the development of HE.

Student revolutions during the 1960s’ and 1970s’ showed that students want to have their own voice within the universities. Many times, students’ protests have had violent results such as the case in Greece in 1974. The demand of students’ participation on issues regarding their education was usually the reason why students protested (Nanouris, 2009). Especially nowadays, in European countries where the Bologna declarations support and promote students’ participation in HE governance, this demand is more than logical.

According to Klemenčič (2011a), one can notice that student representation in Europe varies according to:

- structure
- membership (compulsory/automatic or voluntary)
- sources of financing
- ideological orientations

Klemenčič (2011a) underlines that there is a shift from the professional self-rule model to the model of university as a representative democracy with students participating in governing bodies. But according to the same author, the students’ role tends to change from taking part in decision-making to a more advisory role (Klemenčič, 2011a). ESU, for example, the key stakeholder organization for students, is also a consultative member in the Bologna Follow-

Up Groups trying only to influence the decisions but not having a formal vote (Klemenčič, 2011a). This shift shows that even if students do not have the right to vote, they can influence the decisions by raising their voice, propose ideas and discuss the reforms with stakeholders.

Students, from ESU's point of view, are usually grouped into organizations on an institutional level and then on a national level, forming what is called National Unions of Students (NUSes). According to Klemenčič (2012a), NUSes can be seen as student associations that act as social movement organizations or as student associations that act as interest groups. The difference is that the second group is more structured with a more centralized coordination than the first (Klemenčič, 2011a). The relationship between student associations as interest groups and the state is based on an exchange relationship (Klemenčič, 2011a). Student associations support policies, provide social control of their members, and they also support certain services in policy implementation (Klemenčič, 2011a). On the other hand, student associations acting as social movement are based on protests, boycotts, and campaigns (Klemenčič, 2011a). They refuse to be involved in organized governance that might demand from them to make compromises. Moreover there is hardly a trust-based relationship between state and student social movements. (Klemenčič, 2012a). We can see the main characteristics of these two groups in the typology created by Klemenčič (2012a, p. 7):

Table 1: A typology of NUS's

Qualifying factors	Social movement organizations	Interest groups
Organizational structure	Network-like, loosely integrated, limited functional differentiation	Hierarchically ordered with strong centralized coordination; highly functionally differentiated
Internal Resources	Fluctuating administrative funding; volunteers	Secure administrative funding; professionalized administration
Political agenda	Transversal: next to sectorial	Sectorial: focusing on organization,

	also broader political issues (solidarity, human rights, social justice, egalitarian values, democratization, anti-globalization)	substance and processes of education and student welfare issues
Mode of action	Non-institutionalized forms of claim-making: protests, boycotts, campaigns	Lobbying and political advocacy, services

Student unions have a specific structure, their own organizational features and their own way to influence the national HE area (Jungblut & Weber, 2012). They participate in quality assurance processes and interact with the government and the local governing bodies. NUSes are trying to influence the institutions and bring changes even if institutions cannot be changed easily as one of their main characteristic is stability (Clark, 1983, Mahoney & Thelen, 2010).

Following Schmitter's and Streek's (1999) concept which was implemented in the business sector, organizations need to satisfy the demands of two groups of audiences: first, their own members or what the authors called the logic of membership and secondly the political actors that play a key role for the organization, what is called the logic of influence (Schmitter & Streek, 1999). These two logics often also bring conflicts to student organizations as the two sides have different demands and values (Jungblut & Weber, 2012).

Student unions and their representatives can also be grouped into two categories according to their ideological origins: activists and professionals (Klemenčič, 2007). Activists have unstable financial support, are mainly volunteers and use demonstrations and revolutionary language to make their demands. Professionals are more service-oriented, they usually have permanent staff as support, use dialogue to promote their needs and have a stricter structure (Klemenčič, 2011a).

Table 2: Student Unions according to the ideological orientation(Klemenčič, 2011a)

Students as activists	Students as professionals
Opposing established authority	Often mirror the institutional and government salient issues directly affecting students
Topics: egalitarian values, democratization, anti-globalization.	Topics: organization, substance and processes of education, student social welfare.
Evolutionary language confrontational activism	Dialogue and Partnership.
Loosely organized with volunteers	Highly-developed institutional structure

Student political activism as an aspect of student participation is a complex phenomenon and thus difficult to explain on a limited amount of pages (Altbach, 1989). Altbach's concept of student activism fits to Klemenčič's conceptualization. According to Altbach (1989), one of the characteristics of student activist movements is their sporadic nature. They only last 2-3 years as both followers and leaders change. Also, student movements are impatient when it comes to results since their leadership often desires to achieve results so that the current student generation can benefit from the change. In the case of Greece, as it will be analyzed below, student political movements have existed for many years even if the structure, the members and the leaders changed every few years.

Student politics is also a way of students' participation in HE governance. At this point it is necessary to mention that student politics do not necessarily include a hierarchical link with party politics. Political student organizations might on the one hand be directly controlled by political parties creating a two-way relationship – political parties influence student politics and student politics influence political parties. On the other hand, the relation could be more loosely coupled with political student organization being only linked by for example carrying the same name but having no direct hierarchical connection. Both political parties and student politics influence the governing system of the university through this the quality of the university. Student political movements have an impact on universities and sometimes create

social unrest and revolutions (Altbach, 1989). Institutional autonomy is usually threatened through the interference from political parties as the relationship between elected representatives and political parties has been a particularly contested aspect of student politics. (Klemenčič, 2011b).

For my research, I will use the classification used by Klemenčič which divides student unions into activists and professionals as I believe that the key characteristics of these two groups reflects the situation of student representation in the EHEA and the typology created by the same author regarding NUSes according to their ideological orientation. The merged version of the two typologies can be found in the following table:

Table 3: Student Unions and students' characteristics

Unions as:	Students as:	Characteristics:
Social movements organizations	Activists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opposed to authority • Loosely organized with volunteers • Protests, evolutionary language
Interest groups	Professionals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mirror government issues that influence students • Highly-developed structure • Dialogue

PART 3

3 Background

In this chapter, I will describe first the structure of HE in Greece. This will help the readers to create an overall view about the educational system. Then, I will analyze the Higher Education Governance in Greece and student participation on the national level. In the end of this part, I will describe student participation on the European level with a focus on ESU.

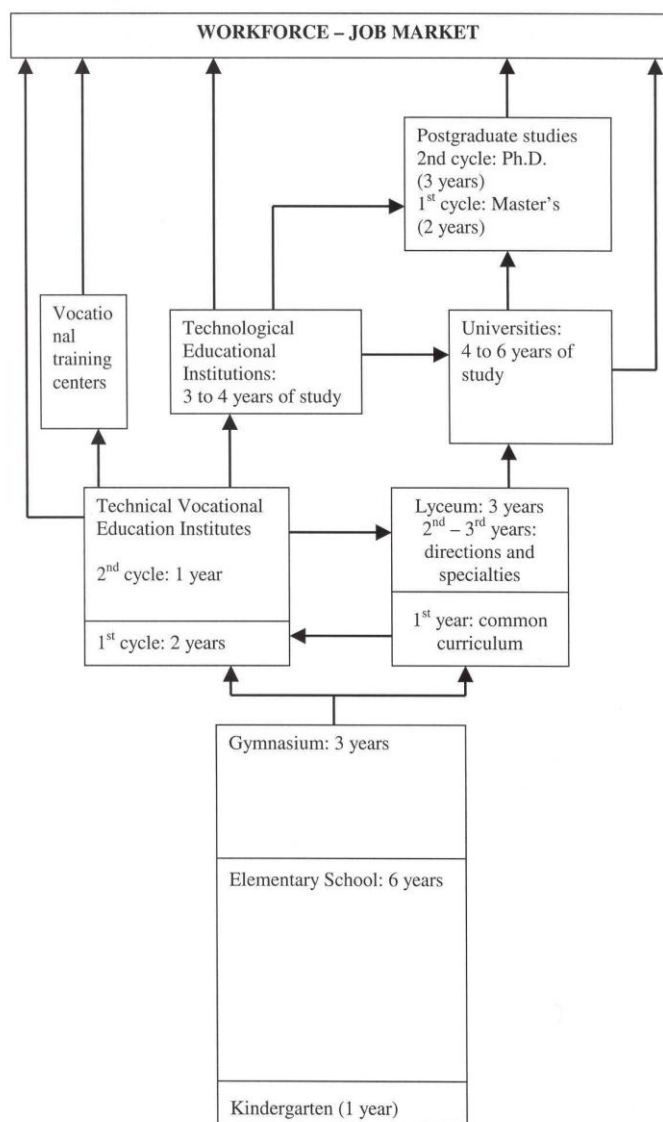
3.1 The structure of Higher Education in Greece

In order to understand the role of students in the Greek HEA and the governing bodies in Greek universities it is useful to start with a brief description of the educational system focusing on tertiary education.

The Greek Educational System consists of three levels: Primary, Secondary and Tertiary education level. Education in Greece is compulsory for all children 6-15 years old and it includes primary (Dimotiko) and lower secondary (Gymnasio) Education. Tertiary education is provided in two parallel sectors: the university sector and the higher technological sector. Students are admitted to these institutes according to their performance at national level examinations taking place during the last year of post- secondary level education. Universities are divided into schools and schools into departments. Departments may have different sectors according to study programs.

Under the Greek constitution (article 16) education is the responsibility of the state. The following figure provides an overview of the Greek education system:

Figure 2: The structure of Higher Education(Partners in Education, 2014)



3.2 Higher Education Governance in Greece and student participation on the national level

The issue of HE governance in Greece is a complex one and there is not enough literature to discuss this topic. Higher educational institutions in Greece are facing many challenges and changes today. Under these circumstances the university is called upon to redefine their role in social life, and to cope with these new situations. This role, however, lies not only in their educational character but also in the organization and administration, where they are invited to redefine their goals, in order to cope with new and emerging forms of administration.

In his discussion on how universities and colleges work, Birnbaum (1988) noted that through internally generated models, actors within the university are able to coordinate their activities effectively. Larger institutions tend to have a more complex administrative structure as new faculties and programs are introduced. In fact, “rules and regulations become the important mediators of interaction and administrators become specialists in distinctive areas” (Birnbaum, 1988, p.107).

According to the National Academic Recognition Information Center (NARIC):

“The mission of University Education in Greece is to ensure a high level of theoretical and all-round training for the future scientific workforce. The role of Higher Technological Education, which includes Technological Education Institutes (TEI), is to contribute to the country's development and to progress in the fields of science and applied research. The focus is on the absorption and transfer of scientific data into the production process. The courses are more practically oriented than in the Universities. Higher Technological Education also includes ASPAITE, the Higher School of Pedagogical and Technical Education studies. Graduates of a Master course or a diploma study are entitled to enroll in doctoral studies at universities.” (NARIC, 2005)

The internal structure, organization, and operation of administrative, financial and technical services, the teaching and research policies, the procedures and requirements for hiring personnel, the allocation of funds etc. are determined by provisions of the internal regulations of each university. Greek Higher Education Institutions develop their own curriculum, which is published in the Official Journal of the Greek Government and by law have to undergo a review every two years. Course validation and accreditation is subject to the advisory body of The National Council of Education (ESYP). However, Greek Higher Education Institutions

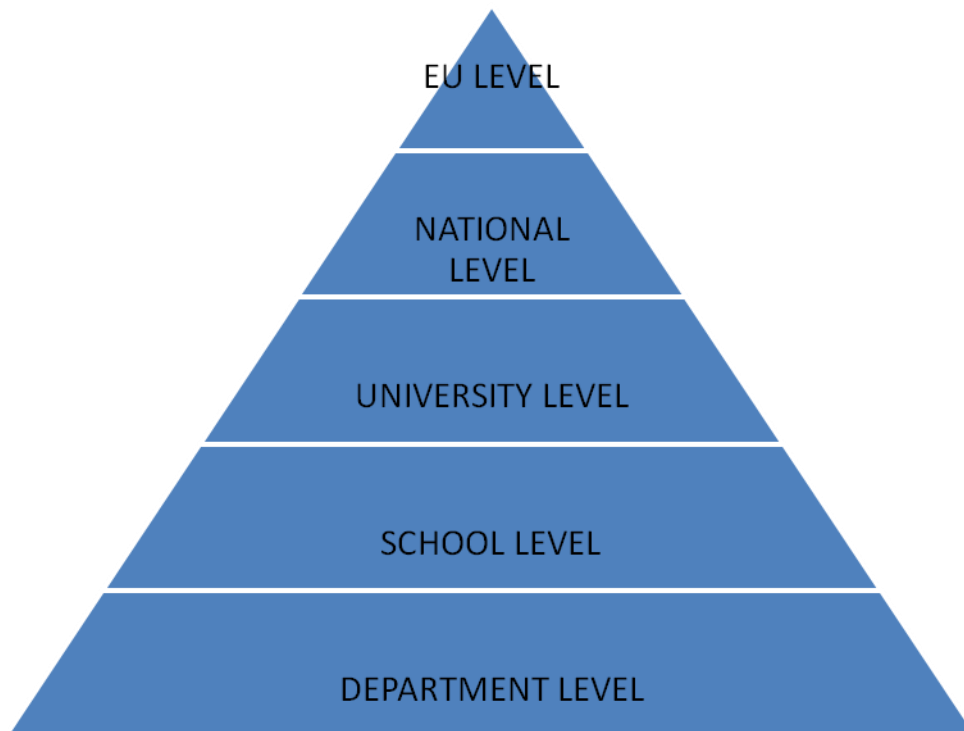
award their own qualifications (Degree, Diploma, MSc, and Doctorate) (TEI of Patras, 2012). Furthermore, Greek educational institutes can formulate their own internal policies for achieving their educational goals. (TEI of Patras, 2012).¹

Around 2003, the government managed to push forward legislative initiatives which were pending for more than five years. As part of the EHEA inspired reforms, most of them were addressing issues like quality assurance, diploma supplement, ECTS, 4-year agreements based on performance between the state and the universities, lifelong learning etc. The most important legislative reform from March 2004 to March 2007 aimed at converging with European educational standards and benchmarks by revising the legislation regarding the structure and operation of higher education institutions (L. 3549/2007 (OJ 69, A')) and by further securing the self-governance of tertiary institutions, while increasing their social accountability, as well as further promoting democracy and transparency in their functions. (Papazoglou, 2014).

Governance of HE in Greece can be divided in five levels:

¹ http://www.teipat.gr/diathrosi/silogika_organa.php

Figure 3: Levels of governance



In this thesis, I focus on the national and European levels at universities as these are the levels that actually matter for the participation of students in ESU. However, first I believe that it is important to give a brief description of the Bodies of Schools and Departments, in order to see first the students' role in them and second because the School level is the one that usually consists of the National level of students' representation.

Universities are divided into Schools and Schools into Departments. Department governance consists of:

- a. the Chair
- b. the Assembly
- c. the Head of the Sector.

School governance consists of:

- a. the Dean
- b. the Deanery

c. the General Assembly.

Students participate at the Deanery with one member without voting rights.

At the University level, there are three governing bodies:

- a. The Rector
- b. The Board
- c. The Senate

The Board consists of 15 members, 9 internal and 6 external. Internal members are 8 professors and 1 elected student representative. The Senate consists of the Rector, the Deans, the Chairs of the Departments, one post-graduate student representative, one graduate student and one PhD student representative. There are cases that students have only one representative.

Figure 4: Governance on the university

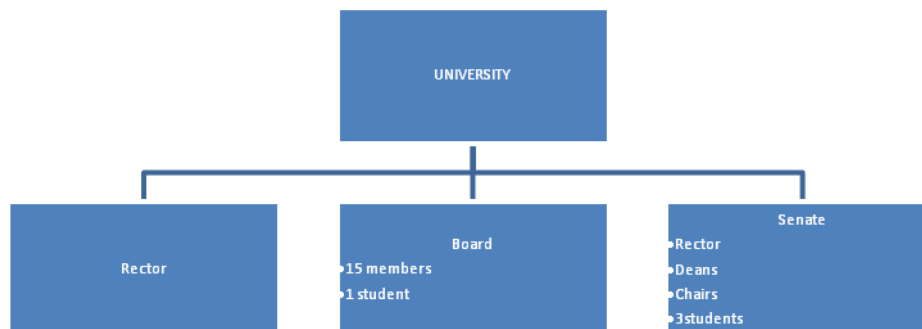


Figure 5: Governance on the school level

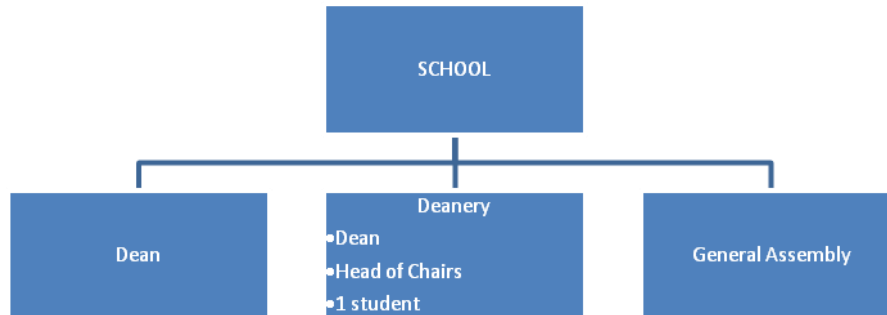
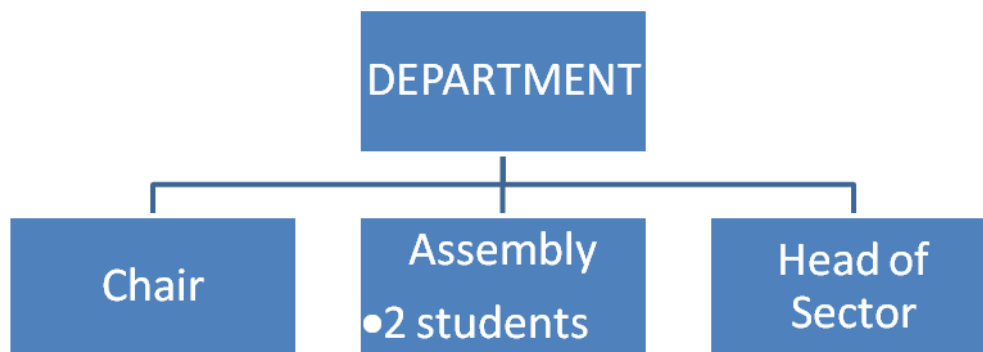


Figure 6: Governance on the department level



The question about student factions and particularly their new role under the new system for the university is controversial. Until now, students, among others, had also the right to elect the rector and student organizations informally stated their preference for particular candidates. The new system does not provide participation by students in elections of the rector instead each rector is elected directly from faculty members.

Another important issue regarding student participation in HE governance is the evaluation of professors. Professors and associate professors at universities are evaluated every five years with respect to their research, education, teaching and scientific work, as well as to the overall contribution to the institution. The evaluation is carried out by committees based on objective criteria, such as, publications, participation in conferences and research programs and the quality of educational work. Such evaluation committees are composed of three professors or researchers from other universities (domestic or foreign) that have been internationally recognized for work relevant to research and teaching topics. The assessment is based on a particular activity report for the previous five years and report programming for the next five years. For the evaluation a detailed report is prepared, which takes into account the evaluation of teaching by students as well. The issue regarding the process of the evaluation is that there are no formal student unions or formal student committees in order to participate in the evaluation programs, of the curricula, the teaching process and other aspects of learning and teaching activity. Even though the evaluation takes place on the institutional level, we can argue that students lack formal representation in them.

The President of the National Youth Council Dr. Drikos admits (Euractiv, 2011) that *«Nobody can be opposed to upgrading the quality of educational services, reducing bad effects of the transaction, the collusion, corruption»*.

Nevertheless, he expresses particular concerns regarding the new way of running the universities. Referring to the absence of students from the new administration stresses that *«the democratic representativeness weakened [...] while the student participation gagged. »* (Euractiv, 2011)

The vice president of the Youth of the European People's Party, Constantine Kyranakis recognizes that the *«average student organizations have discredited»* and *«necessary modernization of student representation is needed»*. He continued saying that *«the absence of the student governing bodies will produce arbitrary [...] that will be subject to any control»*. He also stressed the need for a revision of Article 16 and the need of *«the abandonment of attitudes that keep our education standards of yesterday»*, while expressing his dissatisfaction with the fact that Greece is *«the only country in Europe 27 without National Student Union and - therefore - international representation of Greek students»*. (Euractiv, 2011)

On the other hand the president of the NGO Training and Research Institute for European Affairs, George Antonakakis, claims that the lack of students in the university's governance is "a positive step for education, since most factions had become political oriented groups. The existence of a large gap between universities, the labor market and society turned into functions means of highlighting partisan talent rather than academic." (Euractive, 2011)

3.3 History of the Greek student movement since 1963

Student representation in Greek universities is a topic that has been discussed a lot in the past years. Students in Greek universities grouped themselves into student movements that are politically oriented. This brief history of student political activism presented for this thesis will start in 1963 with the foundation of the National Union of Greek Students (EFEE / ΕΦΕΕ-NUGS). This was a period when Greece suffered from violent social conflicts but also from conflicts among political parties which culminated in the imposition of a military coup in 1967. Institutional aberrations had started much earlier because of electoral fraud (1961), political assassinations and the arbitrariness of the throne (July Days, 1965). Meanwhile, the economy was characterized by a rapid pace of economic growth while the Greek society affected by developments happening in the western world in areas such as, music, culture , fashion etc.(Sermetis, 2013).

In 1961, after the elections, the student movement started asking for their first rights: free books, no tuition fees, academic and university asylum and free transportation. At the end of April 1963, the 4th student conference took place with the majority of students coming from center and left-wing ideologies. Then, they decided to create the National Union of Greek students, following the French model, according to the first President, Mr. Georgios Giannetakos (Nanouris, 2009). During the period 1964-1965, the left-wing political movement had the full authority in Greece and they decided to disband the Union and the main members were put in jail. After 1974 and the end of the military government, EFEE (ΕΦΕΕ) regrouped. The main concern for the Student Union was how to restore democracy in universities (Nanouris, 2009). EFEE was the only major and democratic union at that time (Nanouris, 2009). The Student Union had so much power that it influenced not only the universities, but also other sectors, more than political parties (Nanouris, 2009). Universities' occupations started by independent student unions and followed by EFEE in 1974 and they

brought changes in the judicial system regarding universities. At the same time, that was the swansong of EFEE after 1974, the student unions regarded universities as a source of votes and student activists turned to political activists (Nanouris, 2009). Since the 1980s' PSK, DAP and PASP, the main student political groups, never agreed on the election results regarding EFEE's elected president which meant the end of the National Union of Greek students.

Nowadays there is no formal National Union of Students in Greece that actually represents students at the National and European level. Theoretically, all students from the first year of their studies are members of the Greek Union of Students which is a list of students without formal representation. Instead of one national union of students, each university has many different student organizations, usually influenced by a specific political movement and trying to influence the institutions according to the goal of the specific political party (Karakostas, 2010). There are organizations in each department and each department has its members and its president. The students of each student organization consist of the "youth" of the organization with a common president. The members are volunteers and they have their own structure at each department and at each university. The main student organizations are:

- The Greek Student Activists (ΠΑΣΠ-PASP))
- The Democratic New Trailblazing (DAP-ΔΑΠ)
- The Student Movement Association (ΠΚΣ-PKS) and
- The Left-wing United Association (ΕΕΑΚ-ΕΕΑΚ).

Student organizations follow the model of the society and they have the characteristics of a Greek political system (Karakostas, 2010). The main characteristic of the Greek political system is the customer relationships (Vernardakis, Mavris, 1986). A usual policy within the student organizations was and is the conversion, the fanaticism to serve opportunistic partisan interests, even if they were totally opposed to freedom of, research and teaching. Many times the authoritarian behavior, attitude and contemptuous indifference of teachers, and the bureaucracy that exists at least in large educational institutions, provides the basis for reactions (Karakostas, 2010). These reactions usually cross the limits of the defense of students' interests and the respect of the academic rights and lead to violence or degrading behavior against specific "offenders". Most of the student organizations react with a similar

way in order not to be accused as ignorant and non-democratic (Karakostas, 2010). A current example is the violent reaction of specific student organizations against the law which does not allow students to study for as many years as they want in the same program, having their name deleted from the university roster after 4+3 years of studying.

During the last years, a National Union of Students seems more and more to be necessary (Nanouris, 2009). The power of the student body after 2006 regarding the reform of Article 16 of the Law about the asylum and the free character of education featured the need of a Student Union (Nanouris, 2009). The ex-president of the DAP Youth, Ms. Papanikolaou said to a newspaper back in 2009: *«The problems regarding the Student Conference in order to elect the new Student Union occurred by PASP»*. (Nanouris, 2009). In the same article, the President of PASP Youth, Ms. Pantazis said *«We are willing to participate regardless the problems that DAP want to cause»*. A member of the PASP Youth also stated: *«We have invited all Unions to a conference in order to create a new National Union»*. On the other hand, the President of KNE said *«Every year, our organization is the only one that actually participates in the Student Conference»*. EAAK is the only student union that is completely against the new form of EFEE (Nanouris, 2009).

From the above facts and student characteristics, we can argue that Greek student unions follow the model of “unions as social movement organizations” presented by Klemenčič (2011b) with students organized as activists as the unions have unstable financial support, based on volunteers and use demonstrations and revolutionary language for their demands. Even if topics related to protests and to their political agenda, influence students, the general function of the unions do not allow us to claim that they function as interest groups with students as professionals.

3.4 Student Participation in European level

As mentioned in previous chapters, changes in the European Higher Education lead to demand for more active students as key stakeholders in the EHEA. The body that represents students on a European level is the European Students' Union (ESU) which is the representative platform of NUSes in Europe (Klemenčič, 2011a). Founded in 1982 as a non-profit organization by seven national unions of students (NSU Norway, NUS-UK, SFS Sweden, SHÍ Iceland, UNEF-ID France, DSF Denmark and ÖH Austria) nowadays ESU

represents 47 National Unions of Students from 39 countries. Back in 1982 the organization was called WESIB, the West European Students Information Bureau. The political changes in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s affected WESIB as well, as it opened itself to NUSs from the former east. (ESU website). In 1990, WESIB dropped the “W” to become the European Students Information Bureau (ESIB). As the European Communities started to influence more and more the area of HE in Europe and certainly with the start of the Bologna Process, the objectives of the organization shifted from being just an information sharing organization to a political organization that represents the views and interests of students. In 2007 it was decided that the acronym ESIB no longer represented the work of the organization and ESIB changed its name into the European Students' Union (ESU website).

The aim of the ESU is “to represent and promote the educational, social, economic and cultural interests of students at the European level towards all relevant bodies and in particular the European Union, Bologna Follow Up Group, Council of Europe and UNESCO. Through its members, ESU represents over 11 million students in Europe.” (ESU website)

ESU has a consultative role in Bologna Follow-Up Group, participates in governing structures of the process and influence the institutional and national level through NUSes and various reports (Klemenčič, 2011a). It also brings policies into the BP, strengthens student participation and fights for student rights (Klemenčič, 2011a). It is an important stakeholder and is a member of the so-called E4 Group, along with the European Association of Institutions in Higher Education (EURASHE), the European University Association (EUA) and the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA).

The Board is ESU's highest governing body and meets twice a year in order to elect ESU's representatives for a year. The representative structure consists of an elected Executive Committee (EC), whose work is supported by three coordinators, expert pools and working groups. The daily work of the Executive Committee is supported by a professional Secretariat. The Executive Committee (EC) consists of a Chairperson, two Vice-Chairpersons and seven general members. The EC is responsible for steering and organizing the organization, both politically and financially, on a day-to-day basis. It is also responsible for carrying out the decisions that are taken at Board Meetings. ESU is involved in policy debates regarding HE including privatization, tuition fees, students' rights, the ERASMUS program, quality of HE and many more. They also run various projects that try to improve the HE. Such projects are for example the QUEST project which aims at defining a concept of quality

that gives a better answer to the learner-centered high quality model of higher education for students in Europe, or the SAGE project that aims to analyze the effects of European higher education reforms on graduates' employability and give students a voice in the decision-making process in policies that can affect them.

In order for a student organization to become a member of ESU, it needs to be based on democratic procedures and to follow «*common principles of student representation*» (Klemenčič, 2011a). These principles of ESU are (Klemenčič, 2011a):

1. Openness to all students independent of socio-economical background, race, sexual or political orientation, gender, or religious beliefs;
2. Representation of all students and of all their interests;
3. A decision-making process that is democratically run and controlled by students;
4. Independence in the decision-making process vis-à-vis universities, governments, and party politics;

In order to apply, a National Union of Students has to submit:

- A motivation letter;
- The constitution and standing orders of the organization (in original and English language);
- A plan of work;
- A filled in membership questionnaire;

The participation in ESU gives a new role to students. But, from its first days, the Bologna Process also changed the role of students in the EHEA. The first step towards the Bologna Process began in 1998, when the Ministers of UK, Italy, France and Germany, signed the Sorbonne Declaration in Paris in order to harmonize the European Higher Education Area. In 1999 the Bologna Declaration was signed by the Ministers of Education of 29 countries with the purpose to create a European Higher Education Area by 2010 (Klemenčič , 2012c). At the Ministerial Meeting in Prague in 2001 the ministers emphasized various topics, among them the issue of student participation. At that meeting, ministers stated that students should

participate in the organizations and influence the higher education area. The Ministers also appreciated the active involvement of the National Unions of Students in Europe and in the Bologna Process. However, student participation on the national and European level is still a major issue discussed by members of ESU.

The implementation of Bologna brought changes as for example the implementation of ECTS, the European Supplement and many other initiatives that aimed to improve the national HE system and the EHEA.

“In the case of Greece, the implementation of the Bologna Process seems to be optional. The non- mandatory application of transnational cooperation agreements in conjunction with the significant structural differences in higher education systems of the countries involved seem to lead to a new variety and diversity of structures and structural education systems instead of increasing convergence, compatibility and comparability that were the main targets of transnational cooperation.(translated by the author)” (Kladis, 2000).

The promotion of educational reform according to Bologna in each country seems to be associated with the overall issue of educational and other reforms to adapt to globalization. In case of Greece, the adjustment could not be made if it was missing two key conditions a) political willingness and b) consensus mainly between political and academic elite (Dimitropoulos, 2006). Thus, countries such as Finland, the Netherlands and England, because of their position in the starting point, had less ground to cover to promote reforms of the Bologna process. However, the countries that recently joined the EU have completed these reforms at the legislative level. It seems that, that desire to 'return' to Europe and western models of economic, political and social organization in these countries have created a broader reform, which contributes significantly to fast adaptation and promotion of these reforms in higher education. (Dimitropoulos, 2006). The countries of southern Europe, very recently completed legislative reforms (e.g. Spain), or trying to successive legislation to ensure the effective implementation of reforms (Italy) or are in the process of search and configuration of the required consents to take legislative interventions (Portugal, Greece). Thus, one can conclude that the impact of the Bologna process is differentiated among countries as the particular conditions within its countries are different as well. (Dimitropoulos, 2006).

In Greece, the reforms from the Bologna Process will also bring changes to the institutional rules that govern and regulate the relations of the state with HE. That means that the conflicts among students, student organizations and politicians will be intense as there are contradictory interests and priorities (Dimitropoulos, 2006). As the implementation of the Bologna reforms seems to be optional in Greece, participation in ESU, as a way to influence the Bologna Process, may be optional, too. And in fact, it is optional if we think that it is not mandatory for any member of the EHEA to be part of ESU only because it is a member of the Bologna Process structures. But maybe as the aims of the Bologna Process have not been implemented 100% in Greek HE, students cannot understand the role of ESU and the potential benefits of their participation

PART 4

4 Methodology

The following chapter provides the methodological strategy for the analysis of this study. The chapter starts with the research approach by describing the research design and the research strategy. This study is designed and conducted using a qualitative perspective. Below I will describe the research strategy for data collection and the methods used to analyze them.

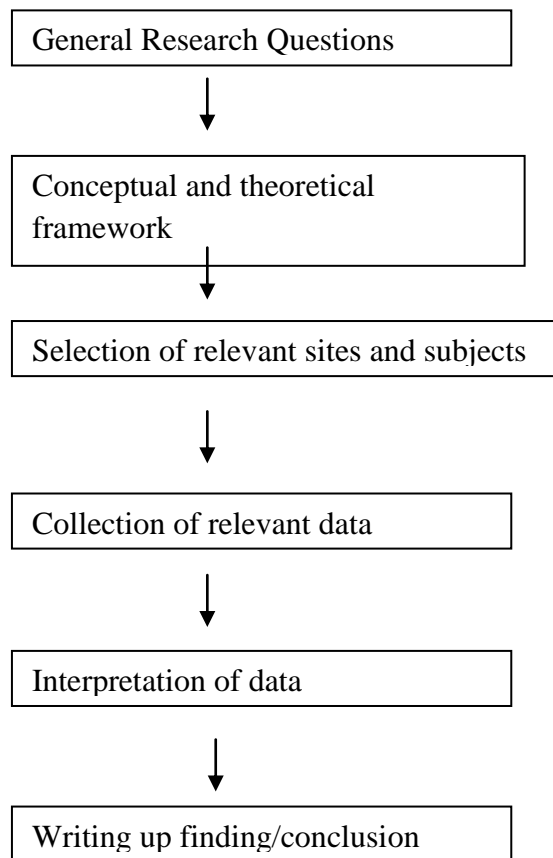
4.1 Research design

The research design is a structure that helps us to execute a research method and our analysis of findings (Bryman, 2012). A research design is not the same as a research method. A research method helps the researcher to collect the data needed and it needs to fit to the research design (Bryman, 2012). According to Bryman (2012), there are three criteria for the evaluation of the research: a.) reliability b.) replication c.) validity. I will refer to them more detailed in the following sections. Also, there are many research designs that can be chosen according to the researcher's needs and goals: surveys, case-studies, experimental designs, comparative, cross-sectional and longitudinal research designs (Bryman, 2012).

4.2 The choice of qualitative research

This study has a qualitative research approach and uses interviews and documents as data sources. Qualitative research focuses on words and not on numbers, in contrast to quantitative research (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, this type of research focuses on the view of the participants and the information they give about the research topic (Bryman, 2012). The research process in qualitative studies is unstructured and flexible and the aim is to produce meaning (Bryman, 2012). In order to write this thesis, I followed the steps of qualitative research provided by Bryman (2012):

Figure 7: Steps of qualitative research



4.3 A case-study design

According to Bryman, “a basic case study entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case” (Bryman, 2012). As “case” we consider a particular location e.g. an organization, a school, a country or a town. Its biggest limitation, nonetheless, is the inability to generalize findings to the larger population as the sample is often small and it’s difficult to represent the whole population (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011).

For this research, the intent has been to answer questions like “how” and “why” something happens. According to Yin (2009) a case study design is especially suitable for these kinds of questions. This study employs a qualitative case study research design because it aimed at exploring why Greek student organizations do not participate in ESU and how do stakeholders of Greek HE and ESU face this situation. In my research, the case is the country of Greece and specifically the Greek student organizations. The reason why I chose to use a

case-study design and focus on a single case is because I believe it is an interesting and unique case since Greece is the only EU country that does not participate in ESU with a students' union.

4.4 Data collection

Data collection took place in Greece and Oslo in December 2013 and January 2014. I used semi-structured interviews to collect information from stakeholders in the HE area in Greece and from members of ESU. Robson, (2002: 270) defines semi-structured interviews as a set of questions but with the right to modify their order depending upon the interviewer's perception of what seems appropriate in the context of the conversation.

The aim of an interview is to obtain descriptions of how the interviewee perceives and interprets the phenomenon that is being under research (Kvale, 1997). According to Kvale (1997) the semi-structured interview is the best method to gain knowledge of a phenomenon. He argues that during the interview the interviewer should define the subject and follow up the interviewee's responses with critical questions in a professional way. For this study, the method of semi-structured interviews has been chosen. The questions are based on an interview guide, but additional and follow-up questions were formulated on the spot in order to further discuss the phenomenon.

To acquire respondents the following method was used. First, I contacted the potential participants through email in order to see if they are interested to participate or not. In order to find who could be potential participants, I looked into the period that saw an interaction between ESU and Greek student unions, the structure of ESU during that period and stakeholder from the Ministry of Education who were involved. Also, it seemed necessary to include academics in the discussion of the topic and this is why I interviewed a Dean of a Greek university. Using the contacts that my supervisor and people from the Ministry provided me, I found the people that finally participated in interviews. After contacting the above people, I created an interview guide and I scheduled the interviews. The interviews with people based in Greece took place in Greece whereas the interviews with people from ESU took place through Skype as most of the participants were based in different places around Europe. Beside the interviews, I prepared a review of the national laws, European

guidelines, national reports and the Bologna Process Declarations. A document according to Scott (1990) is defined as a written text. *“A document is an artifact which has as its central feature an inscribed text.”* (Scott, 1990, p. 5). The reason I chose to use documents as source of data was to give the legal baseline of the topic and of what the interviewees said. The interviews are supposed to provide the story behind the documents.

In this study, eight interviews were conducted. The interview guide is presented in the appendix of this thesis. The different interviewees were chosen to provide specific insights:

1. Former-Dean of Greek university: To provide details regarding the perspective of academics and their efforts;
2. A Greek student in a foreign university who also was active in ESU: He will reflect students' opinion regarding the participation in ESU;
3. 4 former members of ESU : They will present the role of ESU and the efforts from their side in order to engage student organizations from non-member countries;
4. 2 former members of the Ministry of Education in Greece highly involved with the issue of ESU and the Bologna Process. They have participated in efforts in order to engage Greek student organizations.

All interviews were voice recorded. Participants were fully aware of being recorded and all recording files are available to them upon request. The following table provides an overview of the data used for this study:

Table 4: Source of data

Method	Data Source	Purpose
Interviews	Semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in Greek HE and members of ESU	To obtain the relevant information on the topic from people involved in HE in Greece and from people involved in ESU
Documents	Greek Laws, Bologna Declarations, Official ESU documents Newspapers European guidelines National reports	To obtain information about the legal baseline To obtain information about the EHEA To obtain details about student protests

4.5 Reliability and Validity

According to Bryman (2012:46): “Reliability is concerned with the question of whether the results of the study are repeatable.” To ensure reliability in qualitative research, examination of trustworthiness is important.

Trustworthiness consists of four criteria (Bryman, 2012):

1. Credibility that determines that members of the social world ensure that the researcher understood correctly the research phenomenon.
2. Transferability which is a thick description of the phenomenon that will help the researchers to transfer the findings to other milieus.
3. Dependability that ensures that findings depend on records and notes that are easily accessible.
4. Confirmability that ensures that findings are not influenced by personal values and theoretical inclinations.

Validity is a very crucial part of the research as it determines how useful a research will be in the end. The researcher can control the validity and reliability by paying attention to the data collection process and the analysis methods. Qualitative research may lack validity because of the subjectivity of respondents during the interviews. Problems of validity can be resolved by finding the right participants, through the depth of data obtained and the extent of triangulation and the objectivity of the researcher (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 133). In qualitative research, reliability reflects the “truth” of the findings i.e. the extent to which the data obtained reflects the “truth”. The objectivity of the researcher plays a key role in order to ensure reliability.

In the specific research, I tried to increase validity through interviews from different parts of the phenomenon and also by using triangulation. Bryman (2012, p. 392) refers to triangulation as:

“Triangulation entails using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena.”

Moreover, the fact that interviewees had personal experiences and knowledge on the field makes the results more valid and reliable.

In this study, besides interviews, I will use documents as source of data which increases the level of validity and reliability, even if a generalization of the findings has to be done rather carefully, as the study is a unique case-study based on a phenomenon that took place in a specific country. Also, the fact that the interviews were recorded and transcribed is expected to increase reliability. Furthermore, the fact that most of the questions were posed to almost all the interviewees should also increase reliability.

4.6 Ethical issues

Ethical sensitivity is a basic issue in qualitative research. Bryman argues that this aims to ensure that the interviewees are aware of what the topic of the research is and of the purpose of the research, and also inform the interviewees that their answers will be treated confidentially (Bryman 2012). The first issue regarding the ethical issues of this study is the anonymity and the privacy. As I used interviews as a method, I ensured the interviewees that I will not use their names in any of the research's parts and also, that all recordings and a copy of the study are available to them upon request after the defense. Also, I want to underline that all the participants were willing to be recorded even if I would use their names.

In order to ensure that all participants are well-aware for the nature of the study before the interviews, I send them an email informing them about the research topic, my goal and providing them further information if needed. This helped to create a trust-worthy environment. Moreover, I scheduled the interviews according to the interviewees' daily schedule in order to avoid intrusiveness. I didn't want to influence their daily routine or their work life. All interviews lasted between 30 minutes to one hour.

Another issue that I tried to avoid is the wrong interpretation of the data. People who are doing research need to be objective. In this case, as a former student in the Greek HE system and as a fully aware citizen of the country I could be influenced by the data during their interpretation. But I truly tried to avoid bias and to analyze them in a way that avoids misstatements, misinterpretations, or fraudulent analysis.

4.7 Limitations

The limitations of the study are those characteristics that influenced the process and the results of the study.

In the specific study, there are some limitations related to methodology or to the process and that may influence the findings: 1) Greek student representatives are left out of the study. As can be observed, Greek student representatives did not participate in the research as participants (interviewees). There are several reasons for this: First, I had to limit the scope of the study as I didn't have plenty of time or space to analyze the phenomenon from two perspectives. Second, universities in Greece during the period of the interviews were closed due to protests and this made it more difficult to have access to them. Finally, I had to limit myself regarding the kind of students that I had to choose: they could be students from a specific university, from a specific department, members of student organizations or not, political active or not etc. This would lead to different perspectives whereas the perspective of this study is to examine the efforts from the stakeholders' part in Greece and in ESU. 2) The sample and the sampling method make a generalization difficult. The sample is purposive which means that I selected the interviewees because these specific people would probably be aware of the topic. The sample is probably not representative for the whole stakeholder group both in Greece and in ESU. Another limitation is the use of Skype. Even if Skype allows the participants to see each other, face to face interviews are highly recommended in order to see the reactions of the interviewees and also to create a better atmosphere.

PART 5

5 Data presentation and Analysis

The following chapter presents the findings of this thesis. The aim of the thesis is to inquire why students in Greek universities do not participate in ESU and if there were efforts to engage them with the idea of ESU. The analysis is based on the typology proposed by Manja Klemenčič regarding student organizations and students as professionals or activists.

5.1 Student participation of Greek student unions on the national and European level

The situation of Greek student representation nationally and on the European level can be summarized based on the above chapters as follows:

- There is no NUS anymore as student organizations cannot get together or even agree on elections' results to elect the representatives.
- There are many student organizations in Greek universities that are political oriented.
- Greek students don't have a representative body in ESU because they don't fulfill the requirements needed in order to be a member of ESU.

ESU is the only accepted student representative body in the EHEA and following Klemenčič's concept ESU can be described as an interest group organization. The organization has a highly developed structure and based its action on dialogue. ESU often mirrors government issues that directly affect students. Contrary, Greek student organizations can be seen as social movement organizations that are loosely organized by volunteers, base their action on revolutionary language as well as protest and usually are against the state and the authority. As a reminder, the following table provides an overview of the two types of organizations as presented previously in this thesis:

Table 5: Characteristics of student unions

	Union as social movement / students as activists	Union as interest group / Students as professionals
Organizational Structure	Network-like	Hierarchically ordered
Internal Resources	Loosely organized by volunteers/students as activists	Highly developed structure/students as professionals
Political Agenda	Opposed to authority/opposed to state and its reforms	Mirror government issues that influence students
Mode of action	Protest/evolutionary language	Dialogue

Based on the literature, I will focus my analysis on the argument that student organizations in Greece behave as social movement organizations and the students who participate in them behave as activists. I will support the argument based on the findings from the interviews.

Starting from the first and second characteristic, seeing the structure of Greek student organization as loosely organized, run by volunteers and based on the networks, the interviewees stated that student organizations do not follow specific rules and this is why they cannot agree on basic issues as each organization follows its own rules and has its own structure.

“They cannot agree even on the elections’ results. Each of the organization states that is the one with the most votes. These phenomena lead to conflicts, lack of communication and then, the division of a Union into small organizations. This is why we cannot have NUS.”

(Former Dean of a Greek university)

“To be member of ESU, you need to cooperate with each other. Our efforts to engage Greek students with ESU show that they don’t want to cooperate with other Greek student organizations.”

(Former member of ESU)

It was one of my interests to find out if students have a formal participation on the national level or not and what the legal context behind this is. Documents and Greek laws show that Greek students lost their power in the formal governing bodies after the reform of the Law in 2011. Following this law (4009/2011), students are represented in the governance body at the university level only with one student. Furthermore, Greek laws show that there is a student union where all students are becoming automatically members from the day they registered at the university. Thus, that student union has no formal representatives and it does not participate in any formal decision making process. Student representatives in governance bodies are not elected from the student union but from the student organizations. The student union seems to exist only theoretically. The members do not have any responsibilities and the union does not have any role and any responsibilities.

Universities’ governing boards do not seem to make any efforts to change this situation. The Ministry of Education seems not to be interested in including students. One of the former members of the Ministry of Education said:

“Government removed students from the decision-making positions. When you don’t have students in these positions, you can easily ignore them”

(Former member of Ministry of Education)

But even though there is no NUS, there are small organizations in each university which represent different interests groups. All interviewees agreed that Greek student representatives are too politically oriented when it comes to student representation. They are organized into student organizations that follow the political ideology of specific political parties. This doesn’t allow them to take decisions without being influenced by the political party’s ideology.

“Student organizations are totally political oriented. Students have political culture and they follow the x political party driven by fanaticism.”

(Former member of Ministry of Education)

Due to this politicization students from different student organizations are not willing to cooperate and to take decisions.

“They are organized like the army. They have strong ideologies and they are not willing to cooperate”

(Former member of Ministry of Education)

The unwillingness of student organizations to cooperate is according to interviewees the reason why Greece does not have a NUS.

“In order for a National Union of Students to be created, two things need to be done: first, a students’ record needed in order to see how many students are officially members of its organization and secondly, a National Students’ Conference needs to take place in order to vote and to elect the representatives. But student organizations are not willing to do this because they do not keep record of the students and secondly because they can’t accept the results of the voting process. They can’t accept that there is probability not to be members of the elected body. There were efforts for this Conference but again students couldn’t agree on the results.”

(Former member of Ministry of Education)

Regarding the rest of the students who are not members of any student organization, interviewees had to say that they are not informed at all about initiatives in the EHEA. They don’t know what ESU is, what the Bologna Process is and how reforms have been implemented in Europe. One of the interviewees argued that:

“Student organizations do not allow information to reach students. They know about ESU but they don’t provide any information to members of the universities as they do not want to follow the process in order to establish a National Union of Students. The rest of students are informed about the problems caused because of the absence of a National Union but they don’t react at all. I believe that they have accepted the situation.”

(Former Dean of a Greek university)

The interviewees had different opinions about the students’ perspective regarding student organizations. All participants said that students participate in elections they actually don’t

know why. They don't know if the representatives of student organizations benefit students as a whole or not. The former dean stated:

“Almost all students are against political student organizations at the university and they want a National Student Union. They just don't know how to ask for it.”

(Former Dean of a Greek university)

Regarding the third and fourth characteristic, the participation in protests and their opposition to authority and the state's reform, interviewees stated that students are not really protesting against the cut of their rights and against reforms that may harm the university. They protest regarding issues that do not influence the university directly and ignore topic that are really important:

“In 2008 students protested against a violent episode between a citizen and a policeman. Nobody says that this was not important but I'm wondering why they don't react in the same way when it comes to issues regarding the budget for the universities, the lack of professors etc.”

(Former member of Ministry of Education)

“They react on issues like the “academic and university's asylum” that banned police from entering Greek universities and they don't react on the fact that universities have become dirty, places of vandalisms and haven of those who want to hide from the police. It's unbelievable how students can accept this situation and react to state's reform in order to change the Law of asylum²”

(Former dean of a Greek University)

Newspapers and the media show that during the last years, students protested against university reforms. Indeed in 2011 there were protests against the Law 4009/2011. The paradox was that students didn't react to the reform regarding their limited participation but they reacted to different parts of the reform such as the reforms about evaluation. Student

² The "academic asylum" law was introduced in 1982 to protect students and academics when memories of Greece's repressive military dictatorships of the late 1960s and early 1970s were still raw. The rules made it illegal for police to enter university property without the permission of rectors and guaranteed students sanctuary from arrest or state brutality.(L.1268)

protests in Greece were often against the Bologna Process and in general against European initiatives suggested in the frame of the EHEA. According to interviewees from Greece, students believe that European reforms will bring changes to the universities and this will be the end of public education. The market seems to be a huge enemy and students do not want to connect universities with it.

“There is a feeling against Europe like a fear against internationalization. After 1999 students reacted against Bologna because they believed that changes at universities will bring the end of public universities.”

(Former member of Ministry of Education)

“There is an ideology against Europe. The reason is probably the previous political situation of the country. Capitalism is seen as something bad and students reject everything connected with that. Europe represents capitalism so you can understand that they reject everything European”

(Former Dean of a Greek university)

The general feeling against the EU seems to cause a feeling against European initiatives including those in HE. ESU is perceived to be one of them. Thus, students react negatively to any potential involvement in the organization.

From the above, it can be argued that Greek student organizations are involved in protests and they react in topics related to reforms even if they are national or European. At that point, one can notice that student organizations also have the third characteristic in order to be characterized as social movements, their mode of action with protests and revolutionary language in focus.

One of the questions to the interviewees was, who is responsible for this situation and who may possibly change it. There were various answers. Among them, the former Dean said that academics tried to inform the students but without any results so far.

“Student organizations have power and academics cannot take the risk and fight against them. Political parties should inform students” he said.

However, both members of the Ministry claimed that the issue is more complicated. In their view, students carry a political culture from their families. The only way to change the situation would be through a legal context. The establishment of a National Student Union should be mandatory, as they say.

The above analysis leads to the conclusion that the issue of the political orientation among the student organizations causes serious problems that do not allow students to tackle the issues that are really important for the national HE area. Students are active but only as activists in student organizations and they participate in protests against reforms or against any change that is perceived to be opposite to their ideology. This supports the argument that Greek student organizations can be seen more as a social movements and less as an interest group organization.

5.2 Efforts by Greek officials and ESU - Challenges and solutions

The second set of research questions addresses the efforts from both sides to engage students with ESU and the results of these efforts.

All interviewees referred to the same attempts to solve the problem at hand. The first effort was made in 2002 when members from the Ministry of Education tried to make appointments with student representatives in order to participate in the 5th European Students ' Convention which was organized by ESU and took place in Greece in 2003. Greek student organizations didn't participate in this event and instead students protested outside of the place where the event took place, voicing their opposition against the Bologna Process and accused ESU for taking part in it. ESU and the members of the Ministry invited student representatives of different student organizations but they didn't accept the invitation. They didn't accept to be with other student movements. In the end, only one student organization appeared but only at the various events that happened after the Convention. After some months, members from the Ministry tried again to bring together the different student organizations.

“We met them separately. We told them that they will participate as observers. The met with ESU members and each student organization argued that could participate in ESU. ESU argued that this was impossible due to political orientation, a fact that was totally denying by student organizations.”

(Former member of the Ministry)

“In 2002, we called student organizations to discuss the possibility to participate in the ESIB convention in 2002. Only three of the organizations accepted to discuss with us. The two of them reacted to our idea because they claimed that ESU was influenced by the market and by EU and that would be the end of public education. One of the organizations wanted to participate but they couldn’t prove that they were running under democratic procedures and they were not political oriented.”

(Former member of Ministry of Education)

“Some of the students wanted to participate but they felt that they betrayed the ideology of the organization”

(Former member of the Ministry)

According to the interviewees, the main challenge was that students cannot cooperate with each other which is a prerequisite in order to function as a union.

Former ESU representatives claimed in the interviews that there are not many things that they can do from their side:

“The ESU can support the decision to create a national student union and it can be a consulting body but we can’t take decisions.”

(Former member of ESU)

“There is not a strict policy to approach countries that do not participate. It is not mandatory. We can only propose ideas if we are asked to do it.”

(Former member of ESU)

“The ESU cannot do a lot. Greek stakeholders should promote the idea. “

(Former member of ESU)

From the above, one can conclude that ESU cannot do many things to approach the Greek student organizations if the latter are not willing to cooperate. They can support the ideas and the efforts to that direction, but Greek student organizations have to find on their own the way to change the current situation.

Interviewees from the Greek part, have various suggestions. One of the former members of the Ministry suggested that students should change the situation and that the state should support this. Erasmus students, students who were studying abroad or students who have different ideas should promote the idea of an independent union.

“Maybe Greek HE needs a legal framework. Maybe the state should say that is mandatory for students to create a National Union. But I don’t want to imagine the reactions.”

(Former member of the Ministry of Education)

The other member of the Ministry was not so optimistic:

“I believe that nothing can change from students’ side. Or it’s really hard to happen. ESU in cooperation with Deans and the Ministry should organize an event or something similar, to invite students.”

(Former member of the Ministry of Education)

To conclude, the second question was about the efforts of the two sides, the Greek one and the side of ESU, to engage students with the idea of ESU. Both sides stated that many efforts have been done in the past, but the lack of cooperation among the student organization was the most important obstacle. Even when there were student organizations that are willing to participate, the ideology of the organization didn’t allow them to go further.

The last question regarding the participation of students in ESU was assessing why they should participate. Most of the interviewees said that the first reason is that students are well-informed about what is happening in the EHEA. They can exchange ideas and concerns, solve problems and discuss new issues.

“Students have their own voice in Europe. ESU cannot changes many things in National level but it can be a supportive body”

(Greek, member of ESU from a foreign university)

A former member of the Ministry of Education added:

“Students who participate in the ESU could possibly be the future leaders of EHEA and national HEA. They have the knowledge to be members of organizations which deal with HE. Greek students miss this opportunity. They could create the HEA as the wanted but they actually cannot.”

As we can see, students’ participation in ESU benefits not only universities and current students, but the participation of students in the organization seems to benefit the future life of students. Greek students miss the opportunity to participate and to benefit from that, a fact that seems to create disappointments on both the Greek and ESU’s side.

5.3 Summary of the results

Results show that even if the absence of a national union is the obvious reason for the non-participation of Greece in ESU, the reasons why there is no union is more important and explains a lot about the non-participation. The biggest challenge for Greek student organizations is their political orientation and the lack of communication. These two problems caused the fact that Greece doesn’t have a NUS and thus it does not participate in ESU. Students participating in student organizations seem to be unable to move beyond their ideologies and cooperate at least concerning a possible involvement on the European level. They cannot agree on the various issues at hand and they cannot form a national union moving beyond political ideologies.

At this point and after presenting the results, we can see that indeed student organizations in Greece are acting as social movements and not as interest groups and students who participate in them are mostly activists and don’t act as professionals, according to Klemenčič’s concept.

It was especially interesting to see that the interviewees mentioned the lack of information or the lack of interest from the students’ side. That was the starting point of almost all interviews especially with the Greek interviewees. According to them, students who do not participate in

Greek student organizations seem not to have enough information about ESU and its potential benefits.

Both sides, the Greek HE officials and ESU, seem to be willing to help to engage Greek student organizations with the idea of ESU and efforts have been made from both sides. Some of the student organizations were willing to cooperate but without changing their basic characteristics such as their political orientation. This doesn't seem to be sufficient for being a member of ESU, as the potential Greek NUS needs to fulfill specific criteria.

Regarding the solution of this issue, there were various ideas suggested by the interviewees, including introducing more state regulations and strengthening efforts from the side of ESU. Both sides recognized the benefits of ESU to both the national and European level and they confirmed that the Greek HE system and Greek students would benefit from their participation in it.

The table below summarizes the main characteristics of ESU and of the Greek student organizations and concludes the outputs of their actions.

Table 6: Characteristics and outputs

	Greek student organizations/ Unions as social movements	ESU/Union as interest group
Organizational Structure	Network-like Not clear defined roles and responsibilities	Hierarchically ordered Encourage participation
Internal Resources	Loosely organized by volunteers/students as activists	Highly developed structure/students as professionals
Political Agenda	Opposed to authority/opposed to state and its reforms	Mirror government issues that influence students

Mode of action	Protest/revolutionary language	Dialogue
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From the above analysis can be understood that Greek student organizations follow the model of organizations as social movements whereas ESU is an organization that can be characterized as an interest group. The output of the action of Greek organizations is the absence of a NUSes and thus the non-participation in ESU. The interviewees mentioned the political orientation of the organizations and the lack of communication among student representatives as main reasons for this. At the same time, ESU seems to collaborate with EU bodies and exchange ideas trying to find solutions to the current issues concerning the EHEA. This creates a tension and contradictions between the Greek student organizations and ESU which so far could not be overcome.

6 Conclusion

This thesis investigated student representation in Greece and why there is no link between the Greek student organizations and ESU.

The higher education system in Greece faced several challenges in recent years. One of them is to try to follow-up on European initiatives stemming from the EHEA. Greece has implemented a part of the Bologna Process but still many things need to be done. Student organizations seem to be negative towards reforms and they often protested against policy changes by the state and European initiatives that might influence Greek universities.

This study aimed to answer the questions why Greek student organizations do not participate in ESU, what efforts were made from the side of ESU and the Greek higher education officials to engage students with this idea of ESU, and what challenges these efforts faced. The research questions that were answered are:

1. What is the situation of student participation in the Greek HE area regarding both the national and the European level?
2. To what extent did the Greek government, national HE stakeholders and ESU try to engage students in Greece with the idea of ESU?
3. What challenges did stakeholders in the Greek HE sector and ESU face trying to engage Greek student organizations with the concept of participation in ESU and what are their proposals in order to face them successfully?

The answer to first question is that Greek students participate in student elections and are members of student organizations but they do not participate officially in any governing body regarding HE on the national level. Also, there is not a student union in which all students are members in. So the obvious reason for the non-participation of Greece in ESU is that Greek students don't have a NUS. Regarding the second question, the interviewees stated that there were various attempts to inform students about ESU and also there were invitations to various events but Greek student organizations didn't want to participate. Interviewees also stated that students were not willing to collaborate in order to create a union of students and participate in ESU. During the research and after the interviews, a different issue emerged as the underlying main problem of this situation and that is the issue of the political orientation of

Greek student organizations. The research confirms that the reason of non-participation is the unwillingness of student organizations to cooperate in order to create a national union and be members of ESU. This is mainly because they are strongly guided by different political ideologies. The general conclusion is that students do not cooperate and communicate due to their different political orientation. This does not allow them to establish a NUS and join ESU, which consequently weakens their role and position in national higher education policy debates. The issue of their political orientation has been addressed from all participants as the main reason.

This opens the question, how this problem can potentially be overcome. Here the interviews suggested several options. One of them proposed that the state should take this issue seriously and try to disconnect students from the political parties. Furthermore, students need to be better informed about ESU and the potential benefits of having a NUSes through the Ministry as well as their higher education institutions. Even though the representatives of ESU always highlighted their willingness to support the Greek student movement, a more active collaboration between ESU and the ministry could provide the incentives needed for Greek students to overcome their political separation and allow them to create a unified student organization.

The results of this study could help other researchers and HE stakeholders to better understand the effects of students' political orientation on student organizations. Especially now that the topic of student activism is upon request in Greece, this kind of studies would help stakeholders to understand the main challenges that need to be overcome. Also, this study would help other countries with similar issues, to understand the challenges and try to find a strategy to change this situation.

Further research needs to be done on this issue in order to understand students' reaction against the EU and EHEA and to overcome the difficulty of political orientation of student organizations. Also, further research should be done in order to investigate students' perspective regarding the issue of participation on the European level. This would lead to a broader picture of the problem and possibly would give answers to "hidden" sides. Furthermore, more comparative studies analyzing different countries would help to detect more general trends on problems related to the interplay of different types of student organizations. The participation of students in these research projects would give a different

perspective and possibly would lead to a different result thus I believe that it would be useful to also include students as participants in future research projects.

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APPENDIX

Interview guide

1. Introduction

- Short presentation of the project
- Asking permission about recording the interview

2. Introduction interviewee (background, test recording):

Greek stakeholders:

- Role in the Ministry of Education
- Relation with the topic

ESU

- Role in ESU (exact period)
- Relation with the topic

Greek student

- Role in ESU
- Relation with the topic

Dean

- Role in the University
- Relation with the topic

3. Main questions

- Opinion about student participation in national and European level (How would you describe students' participation in national/European level?)
- Experiences related with the topic (Could you please tell me what is your experience related with ESU and Greek student organizations?)
- Opinion about ESU (What is your opinion about ESU as an organization? Pros/cons)
- Ideas for possible solutions (How these issues could be resolved?)

4. Asking for additional comments
5. Thank the interviewees



Η «Κόντρα» είναι μια βδομαδιακή πολιτική εφημερίδα που κυκλοφορεί κάθε Σάββατο. Το φύλλο που κρατάτε στα χέρια σας είναι μια δικαστική έκδοση, στην οποία συγκεντρώθηκαν αναλύσεις και άρθρα σε σχέση με τη νέα μεταρρύθμιση που εισηγήθηκε για την τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση.

Το φύλλο αυτό διανέμεται δωρεάν. Είναι μια συσκευασία της «κ» στην προσπάθεια να φραγστεί η αντίθεση, να βαθύνει η γνώση και να συγκροτηθεί ένα κίνημα εργατικής, λαϊκής και νεολαιίστικης αντίστασης και ταξικής αντιπαράθεσης.

ΔΕΙΤΕ ΤΗ ΔΙΑΔΙΚΤΥΑΚΗ ΕΚΔΟΣΗ ΜΑΣ ΣΤΟ www.elsegersi.gr

Ωρα ευθύνης

Το 2006 και το 2007, δύο ισχυρά και μακρόχρονα κινήματα καταλήψαν σε ΑΒ και ΤΕΙ, διαδηλώσεων και συγκρούσεων στους δρόμους, στημάτισαν ανεξίτηλα την εκπαιδευτική πολιτική της κυβέρνησης Καραμανλή. Μπορεί αυτά τα κινήματα να μην κατάφεραν ν' αποτρέψουν την ψήφιση του νόμου-πυλώνα της Γιαννάκου, κατάφεραν όμως κάτι πολύ σημαντικό: απέτρεψαν την αναστέωση του άρθρου 16 του Συντάγματος.

Το ΠΑΣΟΚ φοβούμενο τον αγώνα της φοιτητικής νεολαίας, βρήκε μια δικαιολογία και την έκανε με ελαφρά πηδηματάκια από την επιτροπή αναστέωσης του Συντάγματος και έτσι το άρθρο 16 παρέμεινε αλώβητο, μολοντί η ταύτιση των δύο κομμάτων ήταν δεδομένη. Ποτέ, όμως, η ηγεσία του ΠΑΣΟΚ δεν διακίνησε ότι είναι αντίθετη στην αναστέωση του άρθρου 16 και στη λειτουργία ιδιωτικών πανεπιστημίων. Αντίθετα με κάθε ευκαιρία, διακήρυξε πως αυτός είναι σταθερός στόχος της.

Τρία χρόνια από τότε, το ΠΑΣΟΚ επανέρχεται με άλλο τρόπο στο ίδιο θέμα. Παπανδρέου και Διαμαντοπούλου κάλεσαν τους πρυτάνεις στους Δελφούς και τους ανακοίνωσαν το σχέδιό τους για τη μετατροπή των πανεπιστημίων σε παραρτήματα των καπιταλιστικών επιχειρήσεων, για διάλυση της τριτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης (αναλυτικά γράφουμε στις σελίδες 2-3). Ταυτόχρονα, έθεσαν ως χρονικό ορίζοντα υλοποίησης της νέας μεταρρύθμισης το τρίμηνο διάστημα μέσα στο οποίο φιλοδοξούν να διεξάγουν μια ακόμη φάρα «κοινωνικού και πολιτικού διαλόγου».

Σημαντικό μέρος των φοιτητών που σίκωσαν στις πλατές τους τους αγώνες του 2006 και του 2007 είναι ακόμη στα πανεπιστήμια. Στα χρόνια που πέρασαν από τότε προστέθηκαν γενιές που δεν έχουν την πείρα κάποιου σημαντικού αγώνα, έχουν όμως τη γνώση για όλα τα επίδικα ζητήματα, στα οποία η σημερινή κυβέρνηση επιδιώκει να δώσει την τελική λύση.

Για όλον αυτό το φοιτητικό κίνημα έφτασε η ώρα της ευθύνης. Στις πλατές των σημερινών φοιτητικών και φοιτητών πέφτει το ιστορικό καθήκον ν' αποτρέψουν τη νέα επίθεση. Να δώσουν στην κυβέρνηση Παπανδρέου και στην ελληνική μπουρζουαζία, που έχει στήσει τρελό πανηγύρι, μια σκληρή απάντηση. Να υπερασπιστούν τα κεκτημένα, να αντρεθούν όσα αντιδραστικά θεσμοθετήθηκαν τα προηγούμενα χρόνια, να ζωντανέψουν και πάλι το όραμα μιας παιδείας δωρεάν και για όλους.

Η επίθεση στην τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση δεν είναι σχετική από τη γενικότερη επίθεση ενάντια στους εργαζόμενους και το λαό, με το πολύχρονο «γυμνάσιο» υπό τις οδηγίες της τρόικας του διεθνούς χρηματιστικού κεφαλαίου. Όταν έλεγαν ότι «η κρίση είναι ταυτόχρονα και ευκαιρία», εννοούσαν ότι θα επιδιώξουν ν' ανοίξουν όλα τα μέτωπα και να πετύχουν παντού την τελική λύση, παντράροντας στον τρόπο που προκαλεί η κρίση και η βιαστικότητα της επίθεσής τους.

Το φοιτητικό κίνημα μπορεί να τους διαψεύσει. Αναβιώνοντας τις καλύτερες αγωνιστικές παραδόσεις του. Τον αγώνα ενάντια στη χούντα, την κατάργηση του νόμου 815, τα πιο πρόσφατα κινήματα των καταλήψεων. Αν τραβήξουν μπροστά οι φοιτητές, μαχητικά και συγκρουσιακά, θα δώσουν -εκτός των άλλων- ένα παράδειγμα στην εργαζόμενη κοινωνία.

ΜΝΗΜΟΝΙΟ και σε ΑΕΙ και ΤΕΙ

Η αριστερική αρχή του Μνημόνιου αρπάζει τώρα και την τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση. ΑΕΙ και ΤΕΙ, με προαναγγελθείσες διαδικασίες-εξπρές, που οδηγούν στην πιο αντιδραστική αναστέωση που έγινε ποτέ στα μεταπολεμικά χρόνια, μπαίνουν στο στόχαστρο.

Η ελληνική εργαζόμενη κοινωνία και το φοιτητικό κίνημα, μέσα από αγώνες δεκαετιών, οδήγησε στη διαμόρφωση ενός κρατικού εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος. Ενός συστήματος που ουδέποτε ήρθε σε αντιπαράθεση με τον πόθο για κατάκτηση της ολόπλευρης γνώσης ή με την κυριαλέα του συνήματος «ελεύθερη παιδεία», όμως είχε κάποιες σταθερές. Κάποιες σταθερές όπως η απαγόρευση της λειτουργίας ιδιωτικών πανεπιστημίων, η μη υπαγωγή (ισχυρά και με το νόμο) της εκπαίδευσης στις καπιταλιστικές επιχειρήσεις, το πανεπιστημιακό άσυλο κλπ.

Στο κείμενο που έχει διαμορφωθεί τους τελευταίους μήνες, και αυτές οι σταθερές μπαίνουν στο μηχανισμό αυτόματης εκτόξευσης προς το υπερπέραν. Το διεθνές χρηματιστικό κεφάλαιο, με τη συνεργασία της ντόπιας αστικής τάξης και του πολιτικού της προσωπικού, έχει επιβάλει κατοχή στη χώρα. Τα «πακέτα» των αντιλαϊκών και αντιεργατικών μέτρων διαδέχονται το ένα το άλλο. Στόχος είναι η «ανεξαρτητοποίηση» του ελληνικού προλεταριάτου, μια διαδικασία που θ' ανοίξει το δρόμο για την «ανεξαρτητοποίηση» του ευρωπαϊκού προλεταριάτου.

Μισθοί και μεροκάματα πετοσκοβούνται. Η φορομπηξία έχει φτάσει σε δυσθεώρητα ύψη. Η ανεργία καλπάζει. Οι καπιταλιστικές επιχειρήσεις έχουν μετατραπεί σε γκέτο: οι εργαζόμενοι υποχρεώνονται να δουλεύουν διήμερα και τριήμερα, πληρώνονται χαμηλότερα από τις συλλογικές συμβάσεις, δουλεύουν τζάμπα υπερωρίες, η εντατικοποίηση της δουλειάς έχει ως όριο μόνο τη φυσική αντοχή. Η απειλή της απόλυσης κρέμεται σαν Δαρδύλλιος σπάθι πάνω από τα κεφάλια των εργαζόμενων, που υποχρεώνονται να υποτάσσονται στις πιο παράλογες απαιτήσεις των καπιταλιστών.



Αυτή δεν είναι μια κατάσταση περαστική. Είναι μια κατάσταση που αυτοί που τη διαμορφώνουν επιδιώκουν να γίνει μόνιμη. Αποκαλύφθηκε, πλέον, από τα πιο επίσημα χείλη Σ.Π.Σ. και λαϊκή συμμορία του ΔΝΤ) και επιβεβαιώθηκε από τον Γ. Παπανικολάου, ότι εδώ και μήνες γίνεται μυστική συνομιλία για παράδοση του Μνημόνιου. Κάτι που ήταν αναμενόμενο. Γιατί, απλούστατα, «τα νούμερα δε βγαίνουν». Στο τέλος της πρώτης περιόδου του Μνημόνιου (2013), το ελληνικό κράτος θα χρειαστεί περισσότερα απ' όσα χρειαστάσε στην αρχή της!

Ο γρήγορος της χούντας κράτησε εφτά χρόνια. Ο γρήγορος της τρόικας θέλουν να κρατήσει πολλά, πάρα πολλά. Σ' αυτό το γρήγορο θέλουν να τυλίσουν και την τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, καθαρώνοντας παράλληλα, μια και καλή, και με το φοιτητικό κίνημα. Πανεπιστήμιο-βυγατριές των καπιταλιστικών επιχειρήσεων και φοιτητές υποστηγμένοι, άβουλα ρομποτάκια, είναι ο διαρκής τους πόθος. Ποιος άλλος μπορεί να τους χαλάσει τα σχέδια εκτός από τη γενιά εκείνη που θα μετατραπεί σε περαιρωμάζωο, δηλαδή τους σημερινούς φοιτητές και φοιτήτριες;

1B



Συγκέντρωση στα Προπύλαια το 1979 (πάνω). Συλλογή τμήματα φοιτητών για το 15% στην παιδεία (κάτω).



Τα πρώτα γραφεία της ΕΦΕΕ βρίσκονταν σε ένα νεοκλασικό της οθωμανικής περιόδου, στη συμβολή των οδών Πανεπιστημίου και Κοραή. «Το κτίριο ανήκε παλιότερα στην οικογένεια Ραλή και την εποχή εκείνη το διαχειριζόταν κάποια εθελική εταιρεία», μας πληροφορεί ο Γ. Τζαννετάκος.

Η επιλογή των γραφείων έγινε με κριτήριο τη θέση: Ανέναντι από τα Προπύλαια, αφεντέρια των φοιτητικών διαδηλώσεων, αλλά και λόγω χαμηλού ενοικίου, μιας και το οίκημα ήταν σχεδόν εγκαταλειμμένο. Το μισθωτήριο υπεγράφη λίγες μέρες μετά την ίδρυση της ΕΦΕΕ, περί τα μέσα Μαΐου του 1963.

Την Τετάρτη 22 του μήνα γίνεται η απόπειρα δολοφονίας του Λαμπράκη. Το Σάββατο 25 του μηνός, ενώ ο βουλευτής της αριστεράς ψυχορραγεί στο νοσοκομείο, η ΕΦΕΕ οργανώνει στα Προπύλαια διαδήλωση για την καταγγελία των παρακράτους, την οποία απαγορεύει ο αστυνομικός διευθυντής Κατσιγιώργης. «Εμείς φυσικά δεν μπορούσαμε. Προηγουμένως μετρώναμε και αποφασίζουμε να ταμπουρωθούμε στο κτίριο. Γνωρίζοντας ότι οι αστυνομικοί θα καταλάβουν το χώρο των Προπυλαίων, κατευθύνουμε τους διαδηλω-

Ορμητήριο μιας γενιάς

τες μπροστά στα γραφεία».

Η ασφάλεια δεν είχε ακόμη πληροφορηθεί την ύπαρξη των γραφείων κι έτσι αιφνιδιαστικά, υπογραμμίζει ο Γ. Τζαννετάκος, «Δημιουργήθηκε μια πρωτοφανής κατάσταση, με τα μεγάφωνα να εκπέμπουν στη διαπασών και στο πεζοδρόμιο τους διαδηλωτές να συγκρούονται με την αστυνομία».

Η αντίδραση της τελευταίας ήταν θύελλα: Με πυροσβεστικά τοσεκούρια παραβιάζει τις πόρτες, συλλογίζονται όσους βρίσκονται στο κτίριο και τους οδηγεί στην οδό Μπουμπουλίνας. Επειτα από μερικούς μήνες γίνεται αγωγή εξώσεως στην... ΕΦΕΕ επειδή αδυνατεί να πληρώσει το νοίκι του κτιρίου.

Παιχνίδι της ιστορίας: Δεκαετίες μετά, το οίκημα αγοράζεται από την οικογένεια Αγγελονοπούλου. Το νεοκλασικό, ευτυχώς, αναπαλαιώνεται και ακριβώς πίσω του κτίζεται ένα γυάλινο κτίριο που σήμερα είναι έδρα του επιχειρηματικού ομίλου του Θ. Αγγελονοπούλου.

Δ. Ε. Ν.

Για όλη φταίνε... όλοι οι άληλοι

Τον τελευταίο καιρό πληθαίνουν οι φωνές που ζητούν την ανασυγκρότηση της ΕΦΕΕ. Και όλα δείχνουν πως φέτος το θέμα θα απασχολήσει τους φοιτητές με την ευκαιρία των εκλογών στις 13 Μαΐου. Η κορυφαία συνδικαλιστική οργάνωση των φοιτητών, αλλιώς, μένει «ακέφαλη» εδώ και τριάντα χρόνια, αφού από το 1980 έχει σταθεί αδύνατον να εκλεγεί πρόεδρος και από το 1995 δεν έχει συγκληθεί καν το πανσπουδαστικό συνέδριο.

■ Η άνοδος του φοιτητικού κινήματος από το 2006, με αιχμή τις αντιδράσεις για την αναθεώρηση του άρθρου 16, ανέδειξε την αναγκαιότητα κεντρικού συντονισμού των κινητοποιήσεων. Η ΕΦΕΕ, ωστόσο, παραμένει αδρανής, καθώς οι παρατάξεις δεν μπορούν να συμφωνήσουν, ούτε στο αυτονόητο: στην έκδοση κοινών αποτελεσμάτων στις φοιτητικές εκλογές.

■ Τα πρώτα σημάδια παρακμής εμφανίστηκαν στο τέλος της δεκαετίας του '70, όταν η ΕΦΕΕ δεν ανταποκρίθηκε στις αγωνιστικές διαθέσεις των φοιτητών», θυμάται ο ευρωβουλευτής του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ, και τότε μέλος του Κ.Σ. της ΕΦΕΕ, Δ. Παπαδημιτρίου. «Από τις αρχές του '80, όμως, κυριαρχούν οι φοιτητοπατέρες που συνδιοικούν τα ΑΕΙ, διαπλέκονται με τους καθηγητές και έτσι η ΕΦΕΕ παύει ουσιαστικά να υπάρχει».

■ Κατά καιρούς οι παρατάξεις αναζητούν γέφυρες επικοινωνίας με διακόβουμα την αναστάση του τριτοβάθμιου οργάνου τους, όμως η μία πετάει το μπαλάκι στην άλλη.

■ «Οι πρώτοι που θέσαμε το θέμα της ανασυγκρότησής μας ήταν εμείς. Κωλύματα για τη συγκλήση του πανσπουδαστικού συνεδρίου βάλει η ΠΑΣΠ και η νεολαία ΠΑΣΟΚ», δηλώνει ο πρόεδρος της ΟΝΝΕΔ, Γ. Παπανικολάου.

■ Ο γραμματέας της νεολαίας ΠΑΣΟΚ, Κ. Πατσιαζής, καταγγέλλει με τη σειρά του τη ΔΑΠ: «Πρέπει να ανασυγκροτηθεί η ΕΦΕΕ, ανεξαρτήτως πολιτικού κόστους, παρά την προσπάθεια της ΔΑΠ για υπονόμευση των συλλογικών διαδικασιών». Ενώ ο Κ. Τσουκαλάς, μέλος του εθνικού συμβουλίου νεολαίας ΠΑΣΟΚ, αναφέρει ότι «έχουμε καλέσει, με επίσημη επι-

στολή, τις νεολαίες όλων των κομμάτων να προσέλθουν σε συνέδριο μετά τις εκλογές».

Για το θέμα, τέλος, της σημαίας του Πολυτεχνείου που κρατά η παράταξη του, επαναλαμβάνει: «Μόνος σε περίπτωση ανασυγκρότησης της ΕΦΕΕ, η ΠΑΣΠ θα παραδώσει τη σημαία στο νέο πρόεδρο. Μέχρι τότε μας ανήκει δικαίωμα».

■ Χροκοδείνια δάκρυα χαρακτηρίζει η ΠΚΣ τη στάση των άλλων παρατάξεων. «Κάθε χρόνο μόνο εμείς προσερχόμαστε στο πανσπουδαστικό συνέδριο ενώ οι άλλοι απουσιάζουν», μας λέει ο Β. Μεταξάς, υπεύθυνος της ΚΝΕ για ΑΕΙ. «Τα κόμματα του ευρωμονόδρομου δεν θέλουν και δεν θέλουν ενιαία ΕΦΕΕ για να μην υπάρχει συγκροτημένο φοιτητικό κίνημα».

Καταγγέλλει, επίσης, τη ΔΑΠ και την ΠΑΣΠ ότι με την αλλαγή της ημερομηνίας των φοιτητικών εκλογών από την 1 Απριλίου στις 13 Μαΐου θέτουν εμπόδια στο όλο εγχείρημα, καθώς αμέσως μετά ξεκινάει η εξεταστική περίοδος.

■ Την ΠΑΣΠ, την ΠΚΣ και τη ΔΑΠ υποδεικνύει ως υπαίτιες για τη σημερινή κατάσταση η νεολαία του ΣΥΝ. «Πάντα θέλω να είναι η ανασυγκρότηση του κεντρικού οργάνου, ιδιαίτερα τώρα που το φοιτητικό κίνημα δέχεται επιθέσεις από παντού και το άσυλο κινδυνεύει», επισημαίνει ο γραμματέας σπουδάζουσας, Ν. Βαγδυτάς. «Στα λόγια ζητούν ΕΦΕΕ, αλλά στην πραγματικότητα δεν τη θέλουν. Η ΚΝΕ που ζητά συνέδριο, επιδιώκει να δημιουργήσει μια αντι-ΕΦΕΕ, όπως το ΠΑΜΕ στη ΓΣΕΕ».

■ Η ΕΑΑΚ, τέλος, που πρόκειται στην εξωκοινοβουλευτική αριστερά, τάσσεται κατά της διεξαγωγής πανσπουδαστικού συνεδρίου, με το επιχείρημα της γραφειοκρατικοποίησης του φοιτητικού κινήματος. Η Α. Σταυροπούλου, από την ΕΑΑΚ Νομικής, θεωρεί πως «το κράτος φοβάται τους φοιτητές και θέλει να διαλύσει το συνδικαλιστικό στα πανεπιστήμια. Θέλει να τους ελέγξει με γραφειοκρατικούς μηχανισμούς. Γι' αυτό θέλει την ΕΦΕΕ, ένα γραφειοκρατικό θεσμό που θα απονεκρώσει το κίνημα».

ΜΟΔΕΣΤΟΣ ΣΙΩΤΟΣ



Η άνοδος του φοιτητικού κινήματος επαναφέρει την αναγκαιότητα ενός κεντρικού συντονιστικού οργάνου.

3

Η «γκαστρωμένη» κάλη... γέννησε και φέτος δίχως να σημειωθούν κοσμογονικές αλλαγές στις φοιτητικές εκλογές που διεξήχθησαν στις 13 Μαΐου.

Με το κεντρικό πολιτικό σκηνικό να θυμίζει **εμπόλεμη ζώνη** και με τις ευρωεκλογές να πλησιάζουν... επικίνδυνα, θα περίμενε κάποιος από τους φοιτητές να προσέρχονται μαζί στις κάλπες των συλλόγων τους για να στεί-

νουν ενδοχόμενος μια αποχή της τάξεως του 25% να φαντάζει... φυσιολογική για εθνικές εκλογές, οι οποίες έχουν πολλές **ιδιαιτερότητες** (μεγάλες ηλικίες κ.λπ.), αλλά για τους φοιτητές η τάση αυτή είναι τα τελευταία χρόνια **αυξητική**, άρα ένα καμπανάκι ακούγεται από το βάθος της φοιτητικής κάλης.

Σε κεντρικό επίπεδο η **ΔΑΠ** (συνδικαλιστική παράταξη της Ν.Δ. στα ΑΕΙ) δεν βγήκε χαμένη, αλλά ούτε κερδισμένη από τη φετινή α-

ΕΑΑΚ) έως και **40,42%** (ποσοστό που δίνει η ΔΑΠ στον εαυτό της). Συγκριτικά με πέραι πάντως η φθορά της φιλοκυβερνητικής παράταξης είναι μηδισμική.

Από την άλλη η **ΠΑΣΠ** φαίνεται να είναι η κερδισμένη των φετινών φοιτητικών εκλογών και να ανεβάζει κατά γενική ομολογία τα ποσοστά της από **1,88%** έως και **2,53%**. Και αυτή είναι η μόνη σύνδεση των φετινών φοιτητικών εκλογών με τις εξελίξεις στο κεντρικό πολιτικό

του ΚΚΕ στα πανεπιστήμια).

Συνολικά η ΠΚΣ βλέπει το ποσοστό της να μειώνεται από **1,39%** έως και **1,51%**, γεγονός που δημιουργεί «προ-

νοκεφάλους» στο κόμμα του Περιούσιου και η πτώση είναι ακόμη μεγαλύτερη σε φοιτητικούς συλλό-

Κάλπες με ανεμογκάστρι



Οι φοιτητές γύρισαν την πλάτη στις εκλογές

Στο 25% η αποχή. Μεγάλη αύξηση σε λευκά και άκυρα

λουν πολιτικά μηνύματα προς πάσα κατεύθυνση.

Μάταια όμως. Ένα μεγάλο μέρος του φοιτητικού εκλογικού σώματος έλαμψε διά της απουσίας του. Συγκεκριμένα φέτος η προσέλευση των φοιτητών **έπεσε** από τους 99.775 πέρυσι στους 93.237 ψηφισάντες. Η αποχή έφτασε στο «ηχηρό» ποσοστό της τάξης του 25%, ενώ άξιο αναφοράς είναι το γεγονός πως μεγάλη αύξηση είχαν τα λευκά και τα άκυρα ψηφοδέλτια.

ναμέτρηση. Μπορεί η Ν.Δ. να... διασύρεται στις δημοσκοπήσεις και ο κομματικός μηχανισμός να είναι υπό διάλυση, αλλά σε επίπεδο πανεπιστημίου έχει «στηθεί» μια **καλοκουρδισμένη** εκλογική μηχανή που βασίζεται στις πελατειακές σχέσεις μεταξύ των φοιτητών και αποφέρει τα αναλόγα αποτελέσματα στις κάλπες.

Έτσι τα ποσοστά της έπεσαν ελαφρώς κατά **0,22%** και στην κεντρική καταγραφή παίρνει από **37,61%** (αποτελέσματα που δίνουν τα

επίπεδο, μιας και το προβάδισμα του ΠΑΣΟΚ φαίνεται πως αποτυπώνεται έστω και με την αμυδρή αύξηση των ποσοστών της ΠΑΣΠ στους φοιτητικούς συλλόγους.

Εκπλήξεις από τα... αριστερά

Τα αποτελέσματα που έβγαλαν οι κάλπες έκρυβαν και μια «έκπληξη» που ήρθε από τα αριστερά του πολιτικού φάσματος και συγκεκριμένα από την Πανεπιστημιακή Κίνηση Συνεργασίας (**ΠΚΣ**) (συνδικαλιστική παράταξη

γους της Αθήνας, όπου παραδοσιακά η Πασοδική είχε μεγάλη επιρροή (Πάντει Γεωπονική, Φιλοσοφική).

Τέλος, τα **ΕΑΑΚ** (εξωκοινοβουλευτική Αρσενική) έμειναν στα ίδια ποσοστά με πέρυσι, παρ' ότι κάποιος περίμενε την πτώση τους, ενώ η συνδικαλιστική παράταξη του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ στην πανεπιστήμια, η **ΑΡ.ΕΝ.**, υπέστη ελαφρά πτώση της τάξης του 0,61% έως 0,73%, ακολουθώντας και την πτωτική πορεία του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ στο κεντρικό επίπεδο. ♦

Η τρίχα που έγινε τριχιά

Από ομάδα αντιστασιακών που υπογράφουν «Αλληλέγγυοι Σύμπροθοι» πήραμε και δημοσιεύουμε την παρακάτω επιστολή:

Στο «βήμα της Κυριακής» 3,5 διαβάσαμε για πολλοστή φορά, και χωρίς καμία έκπληξη είναι η αλήθεια, ένα ακόμα «ο-θεός-να-το-κάνει» ρεπορτάζ, του αμετανόητου παπαγάλου της Ασφάλειας, «αξιοτίμου» κύριου Λαμπρόπουλου, με θέμα τον Επанаστατικό Αγώνα και τη σύνδεσή του (μα, φυσικά!) με την all time classic κατά Φραντσέσκο συμμορία των «ληστών με τα μαύρα».

Όπως πληροφορηθήκαμε, μια τρίχα, που η αστυνομία είχε συλλέξει πριν τρία ολόκληρα χρόνια σε ληστεία στο κέντρο της Αθήνας, και που διατηρούσαν τόσο καιρό με θρησκευτική ευλάβεια, διαπιστώθηκε τώρα ότι είναι η ίδια με μια άλλη τρίχα, που είχαν βρει πριν από δυο ολόκληρα χρόνια, σε απαλλοτρίωση οπλισμού από ειδικό φρουρό, κι επίσης διατηρούσαν με θρησκευτική ευλάβεια.

Επειδή δε αυτός ο οπλισμός μοιάζει με τον οπλισμό που έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί σε ενέργεια του Ε.Α., ένας εκ των συντρόφων μας, που εικάζεται ότι πήρε μέρος στην εν λόγω ληστεία, είναι και μέλος του Ε.Α. (κατά το πρότυπο του γνωστού συλλογισμού: ο μπάτσος είναι

(Η, αλλιώς, πώς η εξουσία έχει ανάγκη το ψέμα για να συντηρηθεί. Αλλά «τα ψεύδη συντηρούν υποσκάπτοντας». Κι είναι θέμα χρόνου κάποιοι να πέσουν μέσα στους λάκκους που ανοίγουν, καλυμμένοι μέχρι τον λαιμό, με τη λάσπη που πετάνε...)

όργανο, το μπουζούκι είναι όργανο, άρα ο μπάτσος είναι μπουζούκι...)

- ♦ Καταλαβαίνουμε ότι η εξέγερση του Ήκεμβρη πονάει πολύ...
- ♦ Καταλαβαίνουμε ότι η ανοιχτή πλέον αμφισβήτηση και διαρκής παρουσία χιλιάδων ανθρώπων στους δρόμους πονάει πολύ...
- ♦ Καταλαβαίνουμε ότι οι ημερήσιες και νυχτερινές επιθέσεις έχουν παράδει τον ύπνο σας.
- ♦ Καταλαβαίνουμε ότι οι δεκάδες καταλήψεις, οι αυτοοργανωμένοι δημόσιοι χώροι, οι μαχητικές πορείες, οι εξεγερμένες φυλακές, οι εξεγερμένες καρδιές, πονάει πολύ...
- ♦ Καταλαβαίνουμε ότι το να ψάχνετε τους τρεις διακόμενους συντρόφους μας τρία χρόνια και να μην τους βρίσκετε, παρόλο που έχετε αναρτήσει τις φωτογραφίες τους σε όλα τα αστυνομικά τμήματα και τις δημόσιες

υπηρεσίες της χώρας, παρόλη την συνεχή προσπάθεια ρουφιανοποίησης της κοινωνίας που επιχειρείτε, κι ενώ εσείς τους αναγκάσατε να φυγοδύνουν, πονάει πολύ...

- ♦ Καταλαβαίνουμε ότι το να συνεχίζουν να υπάρχουν άνθρωποι που αγωνίζονται, άνθρωποι που δεν παραδίδονται, πονάει πολύ...
- ♦ Εάν όμως πιστεύετε ότι θα αφήσουμε βορά στα χέρια της εκδικητικής σας μανίας τους συντρόφους μας, είστε πολύ γελασμένοι...
- ♦ Εάν νομίζετε ότι θα τους αφήσουμε ανυπεράσπιστους να φορτώστε πάνω τους όλες τις αλυτές σας υποθέσεις, είστε βαθιά νυχτωμένοι...
- ♦ Εάν πιστεύετε ότι θα επιτρέψουμε να «παρκαθεί έργο» πάνω στις πλάτες τους και να τους στοχοποιείτε ως «τρομοκράτες» παίζοντας με τη ζωή και την ελευθερία τους, πλανάστε πλάνην οικτράν...

Θα μας βρείτε μπροστά σας!

Εμείς είμαστε στο ίδιο έργο θεατές εδώ και πολλά χρόνια. Εσείς πάλι παρακολουθείτε τρομοκρατημένοι ένα καινούριο έργο, που παίζεται στους δρόμους της Ελλάδας, της Ευρώπης, του κόσμου. Και το τέλος του δεν γράφτηκε ακόμα.

Ε, λοιπόν, για να σας δώσουμε μια ένδειξη για

το τέλος του, και μια πληροφόρηση κι εμείς με τη σειρά μας, κύριοι αστυνομικοί, επιθεωρητές, υπουργοί, κυβερνώντες, καπιταλιστές, ΜΜΕ, γελόια παπαγαλάκια και λοιποί σπόνσορες: Όλα εδώ πληρώνονται. Και μιας και αρχίσαμε τις πληροφορίες, πέρα από τις τριχές, κατά τη διάρκεια της περιβόητης ληστείας στο κέντρο της Αθήνας, κάληψε στην Πανεπιστημιακή ένα πράσινο αλόγο. Το ίδιο πράσινο αλόγο εθεάθη να καλπάζει και κατά τη διάρκεια ενεργειών του Ε.Α. Μα πώς ξέφυγε απ' τα τσακάλια της Ασφάλειας κοτζάκι επιβήτορας; Το παραπάνω κείμενο υπογράφουν οι: Θωμισμάδες των Σούπερ Ληστών με τα Μαύρα, Το club των Φανατικών Οπαδών του Επанаστατικού Αγώνα και οι Αναρχικοί ενάντια στην Τριχόπτωση...

«Γράφετε ό, τι θέλετε. Στο ύψος που σας φαίνεται καλύτερο. Αρκετό αίμα έχει κυλήσει κάτω από τις γέφυρες. Για να συνεχίσουμε να πιστεύουμε πως μόνο ένα δρόμο μπορούμε να ακολουθούμε».

Νικανόρ Παράρ

Αλληλέγγυοι Σύμπροθοι



4255

ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ

ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ

ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟ

Αρ. Φύλλου 195

6 Σεπτεμβρίου 2011

ΝΟΜΟΣ ΥΠ' ΑΡΙΘ. 4009

Δομή, λειτουργία, διασφάλιση της ποιότητας των σπουδών και διεθνοποίηση των ανωτάτων εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων.

Ο ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ

Εκδίδωμε τον ακόλουθο νόμο που ψήφισε η Βουλή:

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟ Α΄ ΓΕΝΙΚΕΣ ΑΡΧΕΣ

Άρθρο 1

Διάρθρωση της ανώτατης εκπαίδευσης Νομική μορφή των Α.Ε.Ι.

1. Η ανώτατη εκπαίδευση παρέχεται από τα Ανώτατα Εκπαιδευτικά Ιδρύματα (Α.Ε.Ι.). Τα Α.Ε.Ι. είναι νομικά πρόσωπα δημοσίου δικαίου πλήρως αυτοδιοικούμενα. Η εποπτεία του κράτους ασκείται από τον Υπουργό Παιδείας, Δια Βίου Μάθησης και Θρησκευμάτων, σύμφωνα με τα οριζόμενα στο άρθρο 16 του Συντάγματος και τον παρόντα νόμο.

2. Η ανώτατη εκπαίδευση αποτελείται από δύο παράλληλους τομείς:

α) τον πανεπιστημιακό τομέα, που περιλαμβάνει τα Πανεπιστήμια, τα Πολυτεχνεία και την Ανώτατη Σχολή Καλών Τεχνών, τα οποία στο εξής αναφέρονται ως «Πανεπιστήμια» και

β) τον τεχνολογικό τομέα, που περιλαμβάνει τα Τεχνολογικά Εκπαιδευτικά Ιδρύματα (Τ.Ε.Ι.) και την Ανώτατη Σχολή Παιδαγωγικής και Τεχνολογικής Εκπαίδευσης (Α.Σ.ΠΑ.Ι.Τ.Ε.), τα οποία στο εξής αναφέρονται ως «Τ.Ε.Ι.».

3. Τα ιδρύματα των δύο τομέων της ανώτατης εκπαίδευσης λειτουργούν παράλληλα, με διακριτή φυσιογνωμία, σκοπό και αποστολή, που διαφοροποιούνται σύμφωνα με τις διατάξεις που ισχύουν για τα Πανεπιστήμια και τα Τ.Ε.Ι., αντίστοιχα.

Άρθρο 2

Ορισμοί

Για την εφαρμογή του παρόντος νόμου, εκτός αν ορίζεται διαφορετικά σε επί μέρους διατάξεις του, νοούνται ως:

α) «Φοιτητές»: οι φοιτητές των Πανεπιστημίων και των Τ.Ε.Ι. Προπτυχιακοί φοιτητές είναι οι φοιτητές που παρακολουθούν των πρώτο κύκλο σπουδών, μεταπτυχιακοί φοιτητές εκείνοι που παρακολουθούν το δεύτερο κύκλο σπουδών και υποψήφιοι διδάκτορες εκείνοι που παρακολουθούν τον τρίτο κύκλο σπουδών.

β) «Φοιτητές μερικής φοίτησης»: οι φοιτητές των Πανεπιστημίων και των Τ.Ε.Ι., οι οποίοι επιλέγουν τη μερική φοίτηση σύμφωνα με την παράγραφο 3 του άρθρου 33.

γ) «Ενεργοί φοιτητές»: οι φοιτητές των Πανεπιστημίων και των Τ.Ε.Ι., οι οποίοι εγγράφονται σύμφωνα με το άρθρο 33 και των οποίων η διάρκεια φοίτησης δεν έχει υπερβεί τη διάρκεια των εξαμήνων που απαιτούνται για τη λήψη του τίτλου σπουδών σύμφωνα με το ενδεικτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών, προσαυξανόμενη κατά τέσσερα εξάμηνα. Για τους φοιτητές μερικής φοίτησης ο χρόνος αυτός είναι διπλάσιος του ενδεικτικού για το πρόγραμμα σπουδών που παρακολουθούν. Ως ενεργοί φοιτητές του δεύτερου κύκλου σπουδών νοούνται οι φοιτητές των οποίων η διάρκεια φοίτησης δεν έχει υπερβεί τη διάρκεια του ενδεικτικού προγράμματος σπουδών, ενώ ως ενεργοί φοιτητές του τρίτου κύκλου σπουδών νοούνται οι φοιτητές που διανύουν τα τέσσερα πρώτα έτη στο αντίστοιχο πρόγραμμα.

δ) «Γενικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών»: το πρόγραμμα σπουδών του πρώτου έτους μιας σχολής, εφόσον ακολουθείται από ειδικά προγράμματα σπουδών.

ε) «Ειδικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών»: το πρόγραμμα σπουδών μετά το γενικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών μιας σχολής (στ) «Σύγκλητος»: η Σύγκλητος Πανεπιστημίου και η Συνέλευση Τ.Ε.Ι..

ζ) «Πρύτανης»: ο πρύτανης Πανεπιστημίου και ο πρόεδρος Τ.Ε.Ι..

ε) Τη διατύπωση γνώμης προς τον Κοσμήτορα για τη σύνθεση των επιταμένων επιτροπών εκλογής ή εξέλιξης των καθηγητών της σχολής.

στ) Την πρόσκληση επισκεπτών καθηγητών, την προκήρυξη θέσεων εντεταλμένων διδασκαλίας και τη συγκρότηση των οικείων επιτροπών επιλογής.

ζ) Τη διατύπωση σύμφωνης γνώμης προς τον πρύτανη και τη Σύγκλητο για την έγκριση του περιεχομένου των προγραμμάτων σπουδών, περιλαμβανομένων των γενικών και ειδικών, όπου υπάρχουν, ύστερα από πρόταση που διατυπώνεται από ειδική επιτροπή. Η ειδική επιτροπή συγκροτείται από τον κοσμήτορα και αποτελείται τουλάχιστον από πέντε καθηγητές της σχολής και, εφόσον δεν πρόκειται για νέο πρόγραμμα σπουδών, τον διευθυντή του τμήματος. Η ίδια επιτροπή καταρτίζει το περιεχόμενο του προγράμματος σπουδών, ύστερα από συμφωνη γνώμη της συνέλευσης του οικείου τμήματος εφόσον δεν πρόκειται για νέο πρόγραμμα σπουδών.

η) Την κατάταξη των φοιτητών στα ειδικά προγράμματα σπουδών, ύστερα από την επιτυχή ολοκλήρωση του γενικού προγράμματος σπουδών, εφόσον προβλέπεται. Για την κατάταξη λαμβάνονται υπόψη η βαθμολογία των εισαγωγικών εξετάσεων, και οι προτιμήσεις τους, σύμφωνα με τις ειδικότερες προβλέψεις του Οργανισμού.

θ) Την έγκριση αλλαγής προγράμματος σπουδών από φοιτητές της σχολής με μεταφορά πιστωτικών μονάδων, ύστερα από αίτηση των φοιτητών. Για την αλλαγή αυτή λαμβάνονται υπόψη η βαθμολογία των εισαγωγικών εξετάσεων, οι προτιμήσεις των φοιτητών και η διατήρηση του συνολικού αριθμού φοιτητών ανά πρόγραμμα σπουδών.

ι) Την απονομή τίτλων σπουδών των προγραμμάτων σπουδών που οργανώνει η σχολή.

ια) Την απονομή τίτλων Επίτιμου Διδάκτορα, Ομότιμου και Επίτιμου Καθηγητή.

ιβ) Τη λήψη απόφασης για την οργάνωση προγραμμάτων σπουδών σε συνεργασία με άλλα ιδρύματα.

ιγ) Τη διατύπωση γνώμης για τον προγραμματικό σχεδιασμό του ιδρύματος, κατά το σκέλος που αφορά τη σχολή, σύμφωνα με την περίπτωση β' της παραγράφου 1 του άρθρου 62.

ιδ) Τη ρύθμιση του τρόπου λειτουργίας των υπηρεσιών της κοσμητείας.

ιε) Την τήρηση μητρώων επιστημονικών δημοσιεύσεων των καθηγητών της σχολής.

ιστ) Τη διασφάλιση της ισότιμης πρόσβασης και συμμετοχής στα προγράμματα σπουδών όλων των φοιτητών, χωρίς διακρίσεις και ανεξάρτητα από το φύλλο, την αναπηρία ή άλλα χαρακτηριστικά.

11. Η γενική συνέλευση της σχολής απαρτίζεται από καθηγητές της σχολής. Με τον Οργανισμό κάθε ιδρύματος ορίζεται ο αριθμός των μελών της συνέλευσης, η δυνατότητα εκ περιτροπής συμμετοχής των καθηγητών της σχολής στη γενική συνέλευση, καθώς και ο τρόπος συγκρότησης και λειτουργίας της. Η γενική συνέλευση έχει τις αρμοδιότητες που ορίζονται στον παρόντα νόμο, καθώς και όσες γνωμοδοτικές αρμοδιότητες ορίζονται για κάθε σχολή με τον Οργανισμό του ιδρύματος.

12. Οι αναγκαίες προϋποθέσεις για την εφαρμογή των διατάξεων του παρόντος άρθρου ορίζονται στον Οργανισμό και κάθε σχετικό θέμα ορίζεται στον Εσωτερικό Κανονισμό του ιδρύματος.

Άρθρο 10 **Όργανα του τμήματος**

1. Όργανα του τμήματος είναι:

- α) ο διευθυντής και
- β) η συνέλευση.

2. Ο διευθυντής εκλέγεται μεταξύ των καθηγητών πρώτης βαθμίδας και των αναπληρωτών καθηγητών για δύο έτη από τη συνέλευση του τμήματος, με απλή πλειοψηφία των παρόντων και εφόσον υπάρχει απαρτία. Ειδικότερα θέματα για την εφαρμογή των ανωτέρω προβλέπονται στον Εσωτερικό Κανονισμό του ιδρύματος.

3. Ο διευθυντής του τμήματος έχει τις ακόλουθες αρμοδιότητες:

- α) συγκαλεί τη συνέλευση, καταρτίζει την ημερήσια διάταξη, ορίζει ως εισηγητή των θεμάτων μέλος της συνέλευσης, προεδρεύει των εργασιών της και εισηγείται τα θέματα για τα οποία δεν έχει οριστεί ως εισηγητής άλλο μέλος της συνέλευσης,
- β) μεριμνά για την εφαρμογή του προγράμματος σπουδών, των εκπαιδευτικών δραστηριοτήτων και του Εσωτερικού Κανονισμού,
- γ) συγκροτεί επιτροπές για τη μελέτη ή διεκπεραίωση συγκεκριμένων θεμάτων της αρμοδιότητας του τμήματος,
- δ) διαβιβάζει στην κοσμητεία τις απόψεις της συνέλευσης και
- ε) συντάσσει ετήσια έκθεση δραστηριοτήτων του τμήματος και τη διαβιβάζει στην κοσμητεία.

4. Ο διευθυντής του τμήματος, σε περίπτωση απουσίας ή κωλύματός του, αναπληρώνεται από καθηγητή, πρώτης βαθμίδας ή αναπληρωτή καθηγητή, που ορίζεται με απόφασή του.

5. Η συνέλευση του τμήματος αποτελείται από καθηγητές που διδάσκουν στο οικείο πρόγραμμα σπουδών.

Ο αριθμός των μελών, ο τρόπος συγκρότησης της συνέλευσης και η δυνατότητα εκ περιτροπής συμμετοχής καθηγητών σε αυτήν καθορίζονται στον Οργανισμό.

6. Η συνέλευση έχει τις ακόλουθες αρμοδιότητες και όσες άλλες προβλέπονται από τις διατάξεις του νόμου αυτού, του Οργανισμού και του Εσωτερικού Κανονισμού:

- α) την εκλογή του διευθυντή του τμήματος,
- β) την εφαρμογή του προγράμματος σπουδών και τη συνεχή βελτίωση της μάθησης σε αυτό,
- γ) τον ορισμό των διδασκόντων των μαθημάτων του προγράμματος σπουδών,
- δ) την επιλογή και έγκριση των συγγραμμάτων για κάθε μάθημα του προγράμματος σπουδών,
- ε) τη διατύπωση γνώμης προς την κοσμητεία για τρόπους βελτίωσης του προγράμματος σπουδών,
- στ) τη συγκρότηση ομάδων για την εσωτερική αξιολόγηση του προγράμματος σπουδών,
- ζ) την εισήγηση προς την κοσμητεία για την προκήρυξη θέσεων καθηγητών και
- η) την εισήγηση προς την κοσμητεία της σχολής για την ίδρυση προγραμμάτων σπουδών δεύτερου και τρίτου κύκλου.

Άρθρο 11 **Όργανα της σχολής μεταπτυχιακών σπουδών**

1. Όργανα της σχολής μεταπτυχιακών σπουδών είναι:

- α) ο κοσμήτορας,